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ABSTRACT

This document is the second in a series of four volumes presented under the title of "Learning Opportunities for Adults." Included in this volume are eight special studies which were commissioned to investigate the needs related to the national development of adult education. These needs are summarized as follows: the introduction of new institutional structures, programs, and delivery systems: the stimulation of independent learning; the coordination of adult education services and the provision of comprehensive guidance and counseling services. The titles and authors of the studies presented are (1) New Approaches in Post-Secondary Education in Germany, by Joachim Knoll: (2) The United States: A Review of Higher Education Degree Programs Specially Designed for Adults, by Thurman J. White: (3) Innovations in British Higher Education and Their Implications for Adult Education, by Geoffrey Squires: (4) Fostering Self-Planned Learning, by Allen Tough: (5) A New Approach in Danish Adult Education, by Helge Severinsen: (6) Independent Learning in the Post-Compulsory Sector in the United Kingdom, by Jennifer Rogers: (7) Guidance and Counselling Services for Adults in the United Kingdom, by Arthur Stock: and (8) Innovations in Eastern Europe, by Nigel Grant. (BM)

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ED189461

Learning opportunities for adults

VOL. II

NEW STRUCTURES, PROGRAMMES AND METHODS

CE 026 179

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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IN THE SAME SERIES

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PREFACE

Under the programme of the Education Committee of the OECD, the Secretariat has undertaken during the past three years a series of general and national studies of issues and trends in adult education. The studies are now being presented in four volumes under the overall title of Learning Opportunities for Adults. This is the second volume in the series.

Volume I consists of a systematic assessment of the present status of adult education in Member countries together with an analysis of administrative, financial and other measures required to enlarge its scope and widen the range of public and private programmes. Volume III contains a number of country studies of the phenomenon of non-participation in adult education, with particular reference to the unmet needs of disadvantaged adults. Volume IV describes the various forms of adult education currently provided in Member countries and gives estimates of the rates of participation and the characteristics of participants. It also furnishes some factual evidence about the scale and nature of public and private expenditure on adult education.

The present volume consists of special studies which were commissioned to throw light on needs related to the national development of adult education, needs that may be summarised as follows:

1. The introduction of new institutional structures, programmes and delivery systems;
2. the stimulation of independent learning;
3. the co-ordination of adult education services with respect to:
    - i) the programmes of providing agencies
    - ii) adult education provision and general education provisions;
4. the provision of comprehensive guidance and counselling services.

Two connected studies offer an overall picture of novel institutional structures, programmes and delivery systems in the whole field of post-compulsory education. The first study is designed to give an illustration of non-traditional developments in one country, namely the Federal Republic of Germany. The second study describes measures in the United States to design special degree courses for adults.

Two studies deal with the phenomenon of independent learning. In a number of OECD countries determined efforts are now being made to assist people to learn systematically, independently, or largely independently, of educational institutions. Dr. Allen Tough, who has pioneered investigations into the present extent and potentiality of independent learning, discusses ways and means of fostering self-planned learning. A complementary study describes and analyses the degree and significance of independent learning in the national context of the United Kingdom.

The general problem of co-ordinating adult education services and relating adult education to the general education provision is discussed in Volume I. The present volume contains a description of a Danish experiment to co-ordinate educational provision for adults at the regional level. In addition, there is a specific examination of the relationships between higher and adult education in the United Kingdom context which raises issues relevant to all countries.

National and local enquiries into facilities for adult education invariably draw attention to the inadequacy of the information available to actual and potential users. Mr. Arthur Stock, Director of the National Institute of Adult Education, surveys developments in guidance and counselling in England and Wales. The final paper gives an insight into non-traditional forms of post-school education in Eastern European countries and their significance for the OECD countries.

I

NEW APPROACHES IN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GERMANY

by
Joachim Knoll

I. INTRODUCTION

The material submitted in the present paper is part of a series of comparative country studies designed by the OECD to throw light on current developments and tendencies in post-secondary education and is concerned with the situation in the German Federal Republic. The features described can be no more than a selection from the spectrum of existing facts, problems and reform projects and have been chosen because of their general impact.

A few clarifying remarks are necessary at the outset to define the scope of this study. Alternate use is made of the terms "post-compulsory" and "post-secondary" education. Apart from structural differences in the educational systems, both terms seem to be applicable to the situation in Germany. Under our educational system the title would cover all the activities that constitute the third and fourth cycles of education, i.e. higher education and continued education, the latter comprising vocational, civic and general education, as redefined in the "Structural Plan" (Strukturplan, 1970)(1). In the Federal Republic compulsory education continues to the end of the pupil's 18th year. The secondary cycle terminates at the age of 18 or 19 and vocational training under the dual system also ends, mutatis mutandis, at 18. Bereday's rough cross-national survey of education in which he breaks down the educational process into phases, makes post-secondary education begin at the age of 16, which is probably a reflection of the examples taken from his American experience.(2) If we adopt the view (with a grain of salt) that pupils conclude the secondary cycle at the age of 18 - and also incidentally the extended secondary cycle as planned by the Education Council(3) - and that continued education commences after a preliminary phase of training, our subject will cover the educational arrangements designed for the over 18s. Nevertheless, the borderline is fluid as the opportunities and exigences of life long education are already being brought home to the next generation of pupils in secondary schools and the whole secondary system (Secondary cycle II). Should models be required for the educational centres for which we have already advocated the merging of the second and fourth cycles both institutionally and for staffing purposes, the present situation anticipates the integration of several educational phases.(4) After the age of 18 pupils either enter the third cycle, i.e. higher education, which will in future have to be envisaged in the form of co-operation and integration models, or the fourth cycle which covers the various forms of vocational training, and also continued education (traditional form). Some circles would classify higher education and the new concept of continued education under the general concept of continued education, but what primarily differentiates them is the degree of their specific vocational content. Up to the present the function of the third cycle has been to prepare students for a career and largely concerns the scientific universities (wissenschaftliche Hochschulen)(5) whereas the other forms of continued education are designed to provide vocational qualifications. In their description of reform schemes and tendencies OECD publications(6) make a distinction between "old institutions" and "new institutions" and classify them as "conservative" and "progressive".

Old Institutions			New Institutions(7)	
Conservative	Progressive	↔	Progressive	Conservative

Apart from the fact that a distinction of this kind is certainly not feasible in practice and can only be made for analytical purposes I feel that the terms "conservative" and "progressive" have too great an emotional content to be used without bias in any dialogue. Referring to the reforms in the structure and content of education, an OECD Secretariat paper uses the terms "traditional" and "non-traditional forms". This distinction may well hold good in a geographical study but it is useless in a comparative survey. It has expressed the idea as follows: "It is theoretically possible to construct a continuum model with highly traditional institutions located at one pole and highly innovative institutions at the other. The features of institutions at the two poles might be constructed as follows:

Highly traditional		Highly innovative
Heavy stress on academic awards	-	No academic awards
3 or 4 years of longer courses	-	Short as well as long courses
Attendance full-time	-	Attendance part-time
Very selective admission related to previous academic achievement	-	Open admission or recognition of life experience

Rigid curricula	- Optional curricula
Single campus location	- Multi-campus or off campus
Written examination	- No examinations or continuum assessment
Grading into classes	- No grading
Instruction by lectures and seminars	- Wide variety of instructional methods
No student participation	- A great deal of student participation in policy making
No vocational guidance	- Stress on vocational guidance
No recognition of awards by other institutions	- Ready recognition of awards by other institutions"(8)

I feel that this has been largely based on the British educational situation which was founded on a different tradition from our own. The distinction between "traditional" and "non-traditional" or "innovative" is only acceptable when there is a common tradition which determines comparable changes. Reforms which are regarded as innovative in Britain do not have to be presented as innovations in the Federal Republic and vice versa. Furthermore, the same applies to these two terms as to the distinction between conservative and progressive. It may be noted that not only the OECD but also the Commission on non-Traditional Study chaired by Samuel B. Gould are conscious of the conceptual difficulties involved. As a prelude to its closely reasoned justification for the use of the term "non-traditional" the Gould Commission tersely remarks: "The term non-traditional bothered us".(9)

Having drawn attention to the difficulties involved in the terms we now propose to deal with their content. The Gould Commission which incidently has not yet, to my knowledge, been appreciated at its true worth in the Federal Republic, points out that in the United States the forms of non-traditional study have already been incorporated in reform legislation. The Education Amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965, which were voted by the 92nd Congress in 1972, have already listed the procedures under which post-secondary education can be modified on non-traditional lines. The Act refers to:

"1. Encouraging the reform, innovation and improvement of post-secondary education and providing equal educational opportunity for all;
2. the creation of institutions and programmes involving new paths to career and professional training, and new combinations of academic and experimental learning;
3. the establishment of institutions and programmes based on the technology of communications;

4. the carrying out in post-secondary educational institutions of changes in internal structure and operations designed to clarify institutional priorities and purposes;
5. the design and introduction of cost-effective methods of instruction and operation;
6. the introduction of institutional reforms designed to expand individual opportunities for entering and re-entering institutions and pursuing programmes of study tailored to individual needs;
7. the introduction of reforms in graduate education, in the structure of academic professions, and in the recruitment and retention of faculties; and
8. the creation of new institutions and programmes for examining and awarding credentials to individuals, and the introduction of reforms in current educational practices related thereto".(10)

Mr. Cyril O. Houle of the University of Chicago, who is a member of the Commission, has frequently published similar views in which he has ranged well beyond the confines of American educational reform.(11) In this connection mention might also be made of his latest publication, "The External Degree" (1973), to which may be added a range of other publications(12) which go beyond American terms of reference in their considerations on the "Open University" and the "University in the Air". The OECD study makes frequent reference to the work of the Gould Commission and J. Summerskill's noteworthy postscript to Houle's book.(13) The OECD report describes post-secondary education at the outset as "a wide spectrum of programmes from advanced degree courses to some of the unstructured group activities sponsored by adult education agencies". The non-traditional forms are referred to in this context as follows: "Many innovations represent attempts to construct time-free, space-free and age-free courses carefully tailored to individual learning needs and making the optimum use of all available instructional aids. They include:

- external degree programmes (Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, United States)
- open university programmes (Japan, United Kingdom, United States)
- universities without walls (United States)
- multi-campus programmes (Canada, United States)".(14)

In the course of these attempts at definition the OECD report makes copious allusions to the United States and Canada but confines its references to Europe to a few convergent examples. The integrated university project in North Rhine-Westphalia is mentioned as an experiment in innovation in the Federal Republic.(15)

II. REFORMS AND PROJECTED REFORMS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Two turning points occurred in educational developments in the German Federal Republic, after which the reform controversy reached a kind of climax. The first of these phases may be situated around 1960 and the second around 1970, preluded by the Education Council's structural plan (Strukturplan des Bildungsrates).

For 1960 the following documents are significant. First, the basic provisions adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Education on the reform of the upper cycle in secondary schools under which the organisation and content of education in the upper cycles were to be functionalised in anticipation of university requirements. The main points in the above recommendation, which is binding on all the Federal States, were the reduction in the curriculum, the introduction of civics as an integrating subject and new working methods which may be described by the term "university studies". Direct teaching which had hitherto been the usual practice was to be superseded by group study on the lines of a seminar. Pupils were also to be given more scope for private study and personal initiative. Despite these reforms, however, the general secondary school has structurally retained its function, i.e. to prepare pupils for the university or, to a limited extent, for such professions as require a secondary schooling. Controversy on these recommendations has largely concentrated on social studies, a new subject which consists of a course in civics.(16) Its integration into actual teaching practice has proved difficult and there are unmistakable signs that it is at present being watered down.

A year before, the German Commission on Educational Affairs (Deutscher Ausschuss für das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen) had approved the "Basic Plan"(17) which was the first effort made since the war to give the educational system greater flexibility and encourage permeability. This educational plan, which incidentally made no provision for continued or adult education, is likewise largely determined by tradition and continues to follow educational scheme conceptions which are shaped by the tripartite nature of the secondary educational system.

The year 1960 also saw the publication of the experts' report on adult education(18), likewise issued by the German Commission, in which adult education was invited to redefine its role. The experts' recommendations led to a wide-ranging discussion and subsequently induced the adult education institutions to define their role more precisely. The recommendations did not merely pay lip service to the German educational tradition. Each of the adult educational institutions subsequently formulated the task it had chosen for itself which included its conceptions as to the aims and organisation of adult education. Here, special reference must be made to the subsequent publications of the German Peoples' University Association (Deutscher Volkshochschulverband) in 1963 and 1966(19) in which adult education emphasised the educational objectives it had already pursued for some time, i.e. to lend its help in everyday problems, counselling and guidance in the use of leisure.

The innovations which have been introduced into the system of higher education in connection with the founding of the new universities are also bound up with the first phase of reform. Although the first of the new universities, i.e. the University of the Ruhr at Bochum, only opened its door in 1965, planning goes back to the beginning of the 60s. These new universities have occasionally been regarded as an expression of a "moderate enthusiasm for reform".(20) There is a good deal of truth in this formula. The new universities conform to traditional discussion about German university reform which has been going on since the early 20s and which prompted Carl Heinrich Becker, a subsequent Prussian Minister of Education, to say that the universities were in essence sound. Their essence is the classical German conception of universities which is bound up with Wilhelm von Humboldt's phrase "unity in research and teaching" in connection with the founding of the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin in 1811. This concept remained unaffected by subsequent developments, although even by the early 60s it was only just possible to maintain this association of research and teaching in many disciplines and sub-divisions at scientific universities in view of the increasing differentiation and specialisation of knowledge. Plans for a bipartite conception of scientific universities, one section being devoted predominantly to teaching and career training and the other concentrating on research, were hardly examined in detail.(21) Reform in the early 60s was concerned on the one hand with organisational problems, i.e. the splitting up of the big faculties into smaller career-based autonomous units (sections, subject-oriented areas) the contents of the curriculum (closer co-operation between related disciplines) and research themes (with special reference to the problems and needs of the region in which the university is situated). On the other hand a number of traditional procedures were given a new lease of life, e.g. the sole passport to university studies continued to be the secondary school certificate (Reifeprüfungszeugnis) which is obtained either by full-time study at school or in evening classes.

This was also a period of increasingly animated discussion on the alternative educational system and its function, curricula, access and mobility (general secondary and intermediate evening classes, courses for the secondary school certificate and courses to obtain higher vocational qualifications).

This phase of reform may be generally considered as having brought about changes in existing traditions, although regulations governing access and qualifications remained unaffected.

The objectives of the second phase of reform may also be attested by a number of documents, recommendations and laws.

The second phase was unmistakably introduced in the structural plan submitted by the education commission of the Education Council (1970). This structural plan is wider in scope than the basic plan put forward by the German Commission for Education, as may be appreciated from the varying degree to which such partial aspects as pre-primary schooling, primary and secondary schools, continued education and teacher training are developed.

Reforms in continued education were introduced either by the Council for Science and Research (Wissenschaftsrat) or by the Federal and State governments in accordance with amendments to the Basic Law under GG 91b.(22)

In our present context the views of the Education Council on continued education are of primary importance. Furthermore, the passage on continued training in the subsequent recommendations of the interim reports of the Federal and State Educational Planning Commission (Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung) of 1971 and the Overall Educational Plan of the Federal and State Commission on Educational Planning (Bildungsgesamtplan der Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung) of 1973 hardly gave grounds for debate.(23) Furthermore, these supra-regional proposals for the reform of the educational system were accompanied by specific plans for each state (e.g. NRW-Plan 1975) and legislation (e.g. the legislation on adult education in Lower Saxony, 1969.(24) The subjects for discussion were therefore: continued education integrated into the public educational system as an independent sector (in the East German Republic this integration had already been completed by 1965 by legislation to ensure a unified socialist system of education); (25) the professionalisation of personnel engaged in continued training (although arrangements are still far from completed); co-operation and co-ordination in continued education; the linking of vocational, civic and general education in a system of continued education; training leave and the use of the media in continued education.

In the second phase of reform interest has also centred on the scientific universities which will first have to be organised on a unified federal basis (basic university legislation is under preparation) and subsequently given a structure specific to each state. Commissions for curriculum reform are being set up in North Rhine-Westphalia. We shall revert to this point later.

III. CURRENT DISCUSSION IN THE PRESS

All this is proceeding against the background of a broad discussion which began in the middle 60s and has gradually spread beyond its original bounds.(26) The discussion was sparked off by the series of articles by Georg Picht later published in book form under the title "Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe" (The German Educational Catastrophe) in 1964 which drew attention to the deficits in the German educational system, in contrast to that of other European countries, in the "production" of pupils with the secondary school leaving certificate. However, comparative methods were not used and the author was criticised for distorting the picture. Moreover, an educational system cannot be solely judged by the number of pupils with secondary school certificates. Nor did the author go to the trouble of integrating these deficits in an overall analysis of the educational system. Despite these considerable reservations it must certainly be conceded that Picht had a stimulating influence on discussions. Incidentally, Picht himself seems to have acknowledged(27) that this stimulus has switched educational reform in the wrong direction. An indirect consequence of the "educational catastrophe" as seen by Picht (accompanied of course by suitable admonitions) was an increased flow of pupils to general secondary schools accompanied by a rise in the proportion of young people with secondary school certificates, so that the universities, despite the new foundations, were unable to keep pace with this development. However, the media also brought a number of other questions into the discussion; ranging from an analysis of the deficits to innovation concepts. In connection with adult education, mention might be made of the recommendations of the Picht Commission for a co-operative system of adult education (1963), (28) the Bochum Plan (1965/66)(29) providing a qualification for intermediate responsible grades and the Schulenberg Plan (1968)(30) which developed the idea of organising adult education in the form of modules.

The student revolution gave greater impetus to reform but here theory frequently outran practical possibilities. These reform objectives may be expressed under a number of headings:

- Democratisation of all sectors of the educational system to ensure "emancipation through participation in the educational process";
- Transparency of decision-making, control and supervisory bodies in the field of education;
- Deschooling the schools and the community;
- A practical and scientific approach in all sectors of education(31);

- Project study as part of a new type of university teaching(32);
- Reform of educational curricula with reference to their "social relevance" and their practical career orientation.

These and other schemes which are based on the concept of fundamental democratisation have been taken up by pedagogical, sociological journals and contemporary reviews while the mass media have introduced them to broader sections of the public.

However, it seems that the abundance of schemes for reform (from the pre-primary school stage to continued education) has left the general public in a certain confusion and apathy. The range of arguments introduced, including such ideas as the abolition of speech barriers, socialisation and emancipation, is so diffuse that issues are no longer clear to the public at large.

After this theorising, "all or nothing" approach, a more sober attitude seems to be gaining ground at the present time. This is true in the majority of industrialised western countries. The trend which has emerged in the Federal Republic is now practically in line with international developments and these are incidentally beginning to bear fruit in the Federal Republic itself. Publications from other countries are now being considered with greater interest. This is the case with Mosse Jørgensen's Report on the Oslo secondary school experiment under the title "Democracy in School is no Utopia"(33) and also applies to "Abolish Schools!"(34) a publication by Everitt Reimer, a collaborator of Illich, and a number of less committed studies such as the Unesco Report on the aims and future of our educational programmes: Edgar Faure and others "Learning to be"(35), and the Plowden Report entitled "Children, School and Home"(36). Last but not least the OECD examination of the educational policy of the Federal Republic(37) dealt with the question in suitable but also highly critical terms.

From the whole conspectus of reform schemes in the Federal Republic we propose to mention just a few books and articles which have caught the public's eye. In the first place, the criticism of reformers is directed at the way in which schools and universities conceive their role of education and training.

For our purposes, the publications which deny tradition and express their educational theories in neo-Marxist terms are of lesser importance. Hans-Jochen Gamm's repudiation of neo-bourgeois pedagogics (Spätbürgerliche Pädagogik)(38) might be mentioned along with comparable productions. As the controversy over reform proceeds, increasing significance seems to be attached to the literature which, prompted by foreign examples, exposes the questionable remnants of tradition (to use Hannah Arendt's phrase) in school procedure and teaching practice and proposes a blueprint for practical utopias. I refer here to Georg B. Leonhard's "Education through fascination" (Erziehung durch

Faszination) and J. Herndorn's "Surviving School" (Die Schule überleben)(39). The deficiencies, particularly in educational counselling(40), general school practice(41) and educational economics are pinpointed with many supporting examples and particular attention is devoted to the investigation carried out by Friedrich Edding, the 2000 Group and Jan Tinbergen into the relations between the social system and the educational system. This book claims to be the first attempt to predict quantitative developments by reference to a theoretical system for forecasting social trends, and in certain respects it makes good its claim. Reform literature devotes a remarkable amount of attention to teacher training for which models are proposed in two publications: "Educating the educator: the Bremen Reform Model" (Erziehung der Erzieher: das Bremer Reformmodell) and "Teacher Training through Project Study" (Lehrerausbildung durch Projektstudium)(42) by the Göttingen Group. A comprehensive account of reform principles and the controversial areas in the educational system will be found in Klaus von Dohnanyi's omnibus volume "The Schools of the Nation" (Die Schulen der Nation)(43). This is a closely packed compendium of arguments, schemes, syllabuses, trends and illustrative models from other countries. Hamm-Brücher and Edding's "Reform of Reform" (Reform der Reform)(44) may be regarded as an essay in the "metamorality" of reform which also takes in policy in the cultural sphere. Having shown the intensity of the reform controversy now being pursued in the press, we now propose to give some accounts of the present situation and proposed innovations, dealing with the third and fourth cycles separately.

IV. REFORM IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A selective process must also be adopted for this sub-sector. When plans were being considered in the early 60s for founding new universities owing to the growth in the number of students, a number of conceptual changes were also contemplated. Each of the first three new foundations was based on a different concept:

Bochum university was to have engineering and scientific disciplines and be a cross between a university and a technological institute. Today, against a background of almost ten years' experience, it may be doubted whether the underlying hope of establishing a dialogue between the humanities and engineering at all levels (i.e. researchers, academic staff and students) has been achieved. Even the attempts to ensure co-ordination among related disciplines and aim at a wide measure of inter-disciplinarity have met with only limited success. The innovations may be listed as follows:

a) The splitting up of the big faculties into small autonomous units based on the principle of related disciplines, e.g.

instead of a faculty of philosophy there are three sections, one covering history, another linguistics and the third comprising philosophy, psychology and pedagogics which are now in process of separation owing to the specific nature of the disciplines.

b) Co-operation based on the fact that the academic staff belong to two sections.
c) Establishment of research units concerned with regional problems (management, industrial sociology).
d) Subject-oriented education (e.g. East-Asian studies, research on developing countries).
e) A considerable measure of centralised administration designed to take the strain off autonomous subordinate units.
f) Reorganisation of the libraries; the university library is organised to give all visitors free access to the shelves.
g) Installation of data-processing equipment for administration and research purposes.
h) Reform of a number of training courses (e.g. the economics degree).
i) Constitution based on the participation of members of the university according to their specific function (academic staff, assistants, students, non-academic personnel).
j) Organisation of an extensive system of students' lodgings in government hostels and private residences.

The initial plan was that about one third of the students should be accommodated in student hostels near the university. The original idea of a kind of campus including residential units came to nothing particularly owing to opposition from the students.

As far as the requirements for entry are concerned, very little in the way of innovation is perceptible in the examination procedure and the syllabuses.

Adult education is primarily associated with the university through a chair for pedagogics with special reference to adult education and secondarily by a Senate commissioner for co-operation between adult educational institutions and the university who is responsible for the university's extra-mural activities.

The following new universities have hardly been influenced by the Bochum example.

Constance has, like Bielefeld, confined itself to a few groups of subjects and does not try to reproduce the whole spectrum of university disciplines. In both universities groups of subjects are associated in research and teaching units.

One of the characteristics of Bielefeld is the model for a reform of the upper cycle of secondary schools which is being tried out in association with university reform. The objective of the pedagogical section is to set up a kind of laboratory school (now being organised) to try out new curriculum concepts. The Ministry of Education of North-Rhine-Westphalia has given this experiment a statutory basis.

When the University of Bremen(45) was founded it was originally planned to make it a campus university. The campus was to include residential and study facilities. However, this concept has since been abandoned. On the other hand Bremen university is characterised by its experimental work in project methods.

The University at Kassel was the first which tried to give effect to the idea of an integrated university. For the first time in the Federal Republic the various institutes of higher education were conceived as integral rather than industrial elements in their region.

The universities of Regensburg, Augsburg and Bayreuth were largely planned on traditional lines while the final structure of the universities of Osnabrück and Oldenburg has not yet been clearly established.

As far as the third cycle is concerned it may generally be said that:

- Innovations are primarily concerned with the structures and organisation of the various fields of study.
- Reform tendencies are not homogeneous and cannot be made more mandatory until basic university legislation has been adopted.
- The curriculum and syllabus reforms are comparatively undiscernible. Morever, in the case of the state-controlled degree examinations they are governed by official regulations. Certain changes may be discerned in the training of teachers and jurists where the theoretical and practical phases are not consecutive as previously but designed to proceed on integrated lines.
- The problem which claims particular attention at the present time is how to increase the number of student places, and experiments have therefore been restricted.
- An increasingly prominent feature of university activity is the tendency to concentrate on a subject-oriented or regionally-oriented approach.
- The development towards integrated universities is clearly favoured by educational policy.
- The combined use of the media to individualise study and make greater use of existing capacity is still inadequate(46). Nevertheless, the achievements of the Deutsches Institut für Fernstudien (German Institute for study by correspondence) in Tübingen must be emphasized.

- Students wishing to enter one of the scientific universities still have to hold the secondary school certificate (Reifezeugnis).
- The "numerus clausus" is applied in a large number of university departments (medicine, psychology, chemistry and to some extent pedagogy etc.). Students are admitted to subjects in which there is a numerus clausus with reference to the average mark they obtained at the school-leaving examination.

Before studying the innovations introduced by the basic university legislation the following data relating to the present position at the universities may be of interest.

In the decade between 1960 and 1970 the increase in university personnel is reflected in the following figures:

In the period between 1960 and 1970, 28,267 new posts were created for academic personnel in the universities of the German Federal Republic. In other words the number of professors, intermediate academic staff and assistants practically trebled (14,381 to 42,648 posts). It emerges from the statistics published by the Secretariat of the Permanent Conference of Ministers of Education in the Federal Republic, based on a survey of 40 universities, that in the decade under review the number of students only increased by just under two-thirds (from 203,404 to 331,279).

The increase in the number of academic posts was thus comparatively greater than the increase in the number of students. The bulk of these extra posts went to the intermediate academic grades (junior lecturers, established lecturers, etc.). While the number of chairs increased from 3,098 to 5,511 in the period 1960-70 at the 40 universities concerned (i.e. universities and institutes of university standing but not teacher training colleges and similar institutions) the number of intermediate posts was practically multiplied by six: they increased from 2,058 to 11,910. There was also a considerable increase among senior assistants and assistants, i.e. from 9,225 to 25,226.

The far-reaching change in the structure of academic staff in Federal German universities in the sixties will become clearer if we examine the different categories of posts proportionally. In 1960, 22 per cent of the new posts went to professors, 14 per cent to intermediate staff and 64 per cent to the assistants. In 1970 the percentage of new chairs had dropped to only 13, the proportion of posts for intermediate staff had doubled, rising to 28 per cent, and the proportion of assistants had slightly decreased, i.e. to 59 per cent.

The trend in the breakdown of posts by subject categories was "not basically and globally consistent with the corresponding structure of the student body". However, the statistical picture is slightly better in medicine. Over the whole period about 15 per cent of posts went to this discipline although the proportion of students decreased from 14.6 to 12.2 per cent. On the other hand the proportion of students increased in the humanities, law, economics and the social sciences. What is remarkable is that in this group the proportion of intermediate academics and assistants to whom the new academic posts were allotted increased while it decreased in medicine, where the proportion of chairs remained constant (despite a substantial absolute increase in the number of posts).(47)

The "Internationes" Bulletin makes the following comments on new students in 1972:

> "A survey of the administrations of universities in the states of the German Federal Republic and West Berlin showed that over 650,000 students were registered in the winter term 1972/73, i.e. 10.8 per cent more than the previous year. The number of new students was even higher (from 143,000 in 1971 to over 160,000 in 1972, i.e. about 15 per cent). Between 1965 and 1969 the number of students increased by an annual average of 5.3 per cent while between 1969 and 1972 the average annual figure was 12 per cent, i.e. more than twice as many. The number of students at scientific universities showed a particularly substantial increase: from 1969/70 to 1972/73 the number rose to 535,000 i.e. 43 per cent. The number of students at technical universities increased by only 27 per cent in the same period, i.e. to 110,000. In 1970/71 the proportion of students in the 15 to 29 age group was 4.1 per cent (U.S.A. 8.8 per cent, Austria 3 per cent). The objective of the overall education plan is to enable from 22 to 24 per cent of each group to have a university training. In this way the Federal Republic would achieve a figure which may be regarded as reasonable on the basis of international criteria in the view of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research".

The Science and Research Council recently established that although the student body is now growing faster than before the expansion in the premises and the staff of the universities largely kept pace with the student increase between 1971-1972. During this period the number of professors and permanent lecturers at universities increased by 23 per cent, the total number of academic staff by 9 per cent and available space by 15 per cent. According to the figures issued by the Science and Research Council the 'rate of overcrowding' in 1972 ranged from only 25 to 15 per cent. However, this figure varies from one discipline to another.

The pedagogic disciplines are particularly overcrowded. Referring to this question the Science and Research Council stated: "From this point of view there was only slight overcrowding in the humanities and the science sections of the integrated universities and the engineering faculties of the other universities. The disciplines concerned account for about 60 per cent of the whole student body. However, it is clear that the situation in individual groups of disciplines at individual universities varied considerably. It may be concluded that while there are more or less appropriate training facilities in the humanities and the sciences and in the engineering faculties at the universities, the study body cannot take advantage of this available capacity owing to the way it is distributed over the universities".(48)

While action has already been taken in North Rhine-Westphalia to relieve the bottlenecks to which we have only briefly referred and to cope with the structural crisis in the universities (integrated universities, commission on curriculum reform) most of the federal states are waiting for the basic university legislation to be voted. The latter will give statutory effect to a number of requirements which have repeatedly been discussed in the course of the university controversy. In a briefing he has published on the basic university legislation the Federal Minister for Education and Research has clearly stated one of the fundamental motives of university reform, i.e. "students stay too long at the university". He is able to refer to figures which emerged from a survey conducted in North Rhine-Westphalia. They showed the average number of university semesters which elapsed in each of the following disciplines before examinations were taken:

- medicine: 12.4 semesters
- law: 10.1
- sociology: 10.5
- psychology: 11.5
- economics: 10.7
- training of teachers for secondary schools: 11
- mathematics: 11.9(49)

These figures will serve as a basis for the adoption of standard courses designed to limit the period of university study. This initial aspect of the reform, i.e. the limitation of the period of study, has already evoked vehement opposition particularly from the student body.

While we cannot summarise the whole content of the proposed legislation we can at least consider the abridged version which the Federal Ministry has issued. The following points in the legislation are emphasized as being important and at the same time they indicate the direction which the reform controversies of the next few years are likely to take.

Integrated University

Their objective is to integrate all courses of higher education. The Federal Government considers this type of university as the best way of achieving the objective, but co-operative university systems might enable headway to be made in the long march toward this goal.

Curriculum Reform

The reform of the content and organisation of the curriculum will be one of the permanent tasks of the universities in which they will be consistently supported by supra-regional curriculum reform commissions. The curriculum will be planned to place more emphasis on preparation for a career. Academic staff are to be made available for this purpose. Curriculum reform is regarded as an 'essential task'.

Standard Duration of Studies

Within two years, syllabuses are to be re-organised and shorn of inessentials so that courses can be tailored to enable students entering the university in 1976 to complete their studies within standard periods. The latter have now been adopted in examination regulations as the accepted duration of courses. The student who exceeds the standard period and is not granted an extension (this contingency can hardly arise before 1980) will be removed from the register but will not lose his examination rights.

Admission

Where there are not enough places for all applicants wishing to take a certain course, instructions may be issued to restrict the number of applicants for the period of one year. Before this can be done it has to be shown that available capacity has been fully utilised and that it is impossible to cope with the existing bottlenecks. Admission procedure as laid down in constitutions of the various states is to be amended in a number of important respects. The importance of the marks awarded at the school-leaving examination is likely to be considerably discounted owing to their comparative irrelevance to study and career prospects. On the other hand, chances of admission will be improved by the student's vocational activities. Students will no longer be encouraged to mark time in some alternative discipline, a practice which always militates indirectly against other candidates. An adequate number of places will be reserved for individual cases of hardship, i.e. particularly among the socially handicapped. Arrangements will be made to develop a special admission procedure. Applicants are to be given an opportunity "to demonstrate knowledge and abilities they have not been able to show in their school careers but which may be of importance to their study and career prospects".

Participation in Administration

Participation in the administration of the autonomous universities is the right and duty of all their members. The nature and extent of participation depend on the university function exercised by those concerned. No one group may have a majority in the joint university bodies. Professors and assistant professors represent two separate groups. However, in committees which have to take decisions on research and teaching problems and the appointment of academic staff, professors and assistant professors, combined as "academic staff", are allowed to have a majority.

Universities and the Government

The proposed legislation is based on the principle of university autonomy where it is consistent with the interests of the community.

Research

Universities are to gear their research capacity increasingly to the practical requirements of the community. They will submit regular reports on their research. Research assignments for third parties will be more strictly controlled.(50)

There is one sentence in the general preamble which particularly points to a break with tradition: 'neither in their structure nor in the content of their training have universities of the Humboldt tradition proved capable of meeting the educational or research needs of a highly developed industrial community'.(51)

Lastly, mention should be made of a final development in the university reform movement indicative of a desire to introduce an innovation which is already partially operative in other countries. I refer to the possibilities of university correspondence courses and home study. The justifications for correspondence courses and home study at university level are both financial and pedagogical. The Conference of Ministers of Education has recently studied the financial factors in a cost analysis and established that this system of study can be about 25 per cent cheaper than the traditional methods for students in their first semester. It was calculated by extrapolating data up to 1980 that the cost of courses for 17,500 new students in eleven popular disciplines would amount to 388 million DM under traditional teaching procedures whereas it would not exceed 258 million DM if mass communication methods were used. The main emphasis is laid on the advantages this method offers from the teaching standpoint, not only to the universities but in the widest sense. In the first place, home study, whatever the technological method used (correspondence courses, radio and television programmes, audio-visual aid) is "place-free and time-free" and, secondly, it is possible to optimise and individualise the learning process, i.e. the student is free to determine his own rate of progress.

At the end of the 60s, the Director of the Second Television Channel and the Minister of Education of Rhineland Palatinate put forward a project for a university course to be organised on and by television but it was not long before these ideas were dropped from the discussion.(52) The proposal for a Television University in North Rhine-Westphalia has recently been reactivated. The Ministry of Science and Research of North Rhine-Westphalia has reported as follows on the present situation as regards a Television University: "A start has been made at the Ministry of Science and Research on the preparatory work for the establishment of a Television University in North Rhine-Westphalia. An investigation into existing arrangements for study by television in other countries has already shown that a Television University of high standard could also be organised in the Federal Republic at reasonable cost. However, certain individual problems concerning the statutory and operational aspects of the question still require clarification. If our investigations continue favourably, the Minister of Science and Research will submit a proposal as soon as possible to the cabinet for an integrated Television University".

Johannes Rau, the Minister of Science and Research, is convinced that the establishment of a Television University is the only possible way of finding a financially sound and lasting solution to the bottlenecks in higher education and to broaden the educational spectrum at the same time. The Television University project was welcomed by Mr. Klaus von Dohnanyi, the Federal Minister for Education and Research. With the support of the Federal Government, it could be put into effect as a pilot project. It would give a new stimulus to the efforts now being made in co-operation with all the states of the German Federal Republic to achieve a national convention on the use of the mass media for education.

The projected Television University would confine itself to a limited number of disciplines in the more congested fields, e.g. the economic sciences, mathematics and perhaps biology and psychology. It will be possible to study up to examination level. The Television University of North Rhine-Westphalia would be the first in the Federal Republic.(53)

This project would seem to have been largely prompted by the existing bottlenecks. It is not clear whether the Television University is designed to have a liberal admission procedure similar to that of the Open University in Great Britain, for example. We list below a number of other activities which can be studied through the mass media.

1. T.V. lecture courses inaugurated by the Bavarian Radio Authorities without any restrictions on admission, for

prospective candidates for places in technical colleges for which they require the Fachhochschulreife, (technological college certificate).(54)

2. Radio lecture course. This course is accompanied by supplementary documentation designed to assist students in their approach to particular disciplines.
3. Introductory mathematics course, intended as a preparation for mathematics students was developed by the West German Television and a team from Bielefeld University.(55)
4. Standardised courses in medicine for students at the preclinical stage. Here, for example, the research unit on medical teaching at the Hanover Medical University has worked out introductory physiology programmes.
5. Mass media programmes for sensitivity studies. These programmes are produced outside the official educational system by commercial organisations. Examples are the already substantial Ullstein AV "medicolloc" and "denticolloc" series produced by the Springer publishing house.

In addition to the above courses, mention should be made of a wide range of enrichment programmes devoted to individual aspects of education and educational initiation. Reference must also be made to the intensive educational programmes which are not exclusively or primarily designed for people who have an academic background or wish to acquire one. In this respect, the educational programme offered by the Westdeutsches Fernsehen (WDR) shows particular initiative. Typical examples of these mass media educational broadcasts are the programmes on data processing, network planning, leadership techniques and training of trainers.

All these programmes, whether they are audio-visual or designed as broadcasts or reading matter, are backed by supplementary material, e.g. television programmes are accompanied by documentation and direct teaching (Telekolleg).

V. THE REFORM OF CONTINUED EDUCATION

We must note once again that the following documents have become essential elements in the reform of continuous education:

- The Structural Plan of the Education Council (1970).
- Plans 1 to 4 and Plan 5 (the interim report) of the Joint Federal and State Educational Planning Commission (1971).
- The overall educational plan of the Joint Federal and State Educational Planning Commission (1973).

- The Government Statement and Education Report of the Federal Government (1969/70).
- The 1975 North Rhine-Westphalia Plan.
- The Experts' Report of the Planning Group on Adult Education/ Continuous Education of the Minister of Education of North Rhine-Westphalia (1972).(56)

Mention should also be made of the attempts by the adult educational institutions to clarify the situation. In the period between 1970 and 1973, the German People's University Association (Deutscher Volkshochschulverband), the German Trade Union Federation, the German Federation of Clerical Workers, the Protestant and Catholic study groups on Adult Education, the study groups of the various political parties on adult education and adult education planners in the economic sectors published statements and briefings in which the ideas in the Structural Plan and the Overall Educational Plan are further developed.

Below is a brief outline of the trends and objectives of the foregoing publications on reform.

Credit for the most significant initiative in the educational and cultural field must be given to the Joint Federal and State Commission whose work is largely based on the studies of the Council for Education, which are in the nature of recommendations, and also on the discussions which have been proceeding since the mid 60s for a new orientation in adult education. The Interim Report presents a combination of imaginative thinking and feasibility and could at the outset be considered realistic in view of the proposed timetable. Taken as a whole, the Interim Report heralds the trend, already foreshadowed in the basic curriculum of the People's Universities, towards systematised study and the combination of professional, civic and general education. However, there is no lack of critical protest against this development which some observers fear will lead to the complete replacement of adult education by adult vocational training. While the largely traditional adult education of the post-war period was run on informal lines and reflected the pre-eminence of bourgeois educational concepts, it is considered that a systematised, occupationally-centred type of adult education will now be propagated which will restrict the activity of the institutions dispensing general and civic education. In our explanatory study of adult occupational training in the East German Republic, we tried, as early as 1968, to advise adult education institutions in the Federal Republic to make greater use of systematised training, subjects being either simultaneously studied or in sequence. In actual fact, this tendency to run adult education occupational training on hard and fast scholastic lines is diametrically opposed to the tradition of adult education in the Federal Republic. However, both informal and formal adult educational schemes have since become increasingly permeated by the idea of systematised training. A development like "educational leave" has shown that denominational institutions for adult vocational training, in particular, have formulated mandatory plans for intervals of vocational training and perhaps already have very practical detailed programmes.

The Interim Report by the Joint Federal and State Commission was submitted to the Federal Chancellor and the heads of the state governments on 5th November, 1971. Despite its detailed breakdown which even extends to financial questions, it must be considered as a provisional review of current activities. Moreover, the aspects most repeatedly emphasised in discussions since the publication of the Interim Report are those in which agreement has been reached. Among them is the "promotion of the establishment and development of a continued education system as an essential factor in the field of education", although it has not been possible to reach agreement on the organisation of the lower cycle of the secondary system and the orientation stage and arrangements for teacher training. In the general introductory remarks a number of temporary definitions are adopted and continued training is described as "a continuation or resumption of organised study after the conclusion of a preliminary phase of education and the beginning of an active occupation".

The term "adult education" is no longer used in this connection and the various aspects of adult education (vocational further training, adult vocational training, etc) are covered by the expression "continuous education". In view of this decision I consider attempts to differentiate between the various concepts as comparatively unimportant. But if they were adopted continued education might be defined as the projected target or aim of reformed adult education whereas adult education would tend to relate to the institutionalised forms of continued education. But it is clear from the preliminary remarks that continued education is largely guided by pragmatic occupational considerations. Not the least proof of this is that pride of place is given to the acquisition of "new knowledge and skills." However, this impression is qualified in the sense that it is made clear that vocational and general education ought no longer to appear to be separated. Finally, the Interim Report unequivocally defines the field of "continued training" as a "fourth cycle of education". We have already pointed out, by way of introduction, that reservations were expressed regarding this unequivocal definition in which there was the echo of a fear that the institutionalisation of a "fourth" cycle would reinforce the special position of adult education with the result that barriers would be raised against the integration of adult education into the third cycle. It may be said that the problem of integration has so far not been closely discussed in connection with official educational policy.

In connection with the chronological sequence of educational processes and particularly the establishment of adult education as a policy factor, the decision to make "continued training" an independent fourth cycle seems to be a wise one.

I should like in the first instance to summarise the references to "continued education" in the Interim Report in a number of key words. First and foremost, the Joint Federal and State Commission has come out in favour of declaring continued education a "public function" in which the former adult education would be integrated into further education on pluralistic lines. Further education would then be formulated as a combination of "vocational, general and civic education". The questions still remain whether this sequence of "vocational, general and civic" education has to be conceived in the sense of a qualitative/quantitative hierarchy. The measures include:

- Educational leave
- Co-ordination
- Contact centres for further scientific training
- Supra-regional co-ordination
- Control of correspondence, T.V. and radio courses
- Creation of a central institution
- Commission for the institutional promotion of education.

In a further and wider approach, individual measures are envisaged, e.g. curricula for continued education, in which this aspect is of course kept in an institutional/organisational context and the question of syllabuses is not handled in detail. However, we would point out that the modular system is not conceived here as a chronological succession of partial qualifications but includes both, i.e. the "combination of simultaneously or successively acquired partial qualifications (certificates) to make a total qualification". This is a justification for both simultaneous and successive courses. We emphasize this fact against the background of the model for the qualification of intermediate responsible staff (Bochum Plan). The training of personnel to take charge of continued education is also envisaged in which the three approaches put forward at the Conference of Ministers of Education (i.e. a subsidiary course, a complementary course and a pedagogics course with special reference to adult education) will be limited in favour of the complementary course. Furthermore, the aim is to secure an "additional pedagogical qualification" for persons who devote part of their time to adult education, but no syllabus proposals are put forward in this connection.

Finally, the need for personnel for further education and the question of educational leave will be listed among the urgent problems together with a recommendation for the "establishment of statistics of continued education at federal level".

One restrictive remark must be made as regards these prospective objectives. Adult education or continued education was expressly mentioned in the first statement issued by the Socialist Liberal coalition government but not in the second statement, after the November elections of 1972. Vocational training is now receiving more attention as a factor of educational policy. At the present time it cannot be definitely inferred that the government intends to devote less consideration to this branch of education on the grounds that no mention is made of adult education in its statement. Any such assumption is at least countered by the activities of the continued education branch of the Federal Ministry for Science and Research which has sponsored a series of empirical investigations (pedagogical research in adult education, the profile of part-time teachers in adult education, models for educational leave) which may also be given effect in legislation and educational planning. On the other hand, there are a number of financial restrictions and other questions of priority which militate against any rapid implementation of the proposals and recommendations of the overall educational plan. Finally, it must also be noted that such reforms as can be carried out with moderate financial expenditure have already got beyond the planning stage.

The general obstacles to comprehensive educational planning need not be discussed in detail here. I will merely say that, despite the opportunities offered under GG 91b, the various States have done nothing to overcome their self-centred approach nor has anything yet been attempted to define competence of the respective authorities.(57)

As far as the present situation is concerned it is possible to discern a contrast between the present organisation of continued education and the position of adult education at the beginning of the 60s.

1. The integration of continued education into the public educational system is considered as absolutely essential by all bodies concerned with educational policy.
2. The integration of vocational, civic and general training in adult education is approved and is reflected in the curriculum.
3. The programmes of practically all institutions suggest that it is realised that the forthcoming syllabuses will be more systematised and lead up to the award of certificates. However, there are still differences of opinion as to the legal value of such certificates.
4. The programmes for the award of certificates are as a rule organised in modular form, i.e. each individual element carries a clearly defined qualification.
5. Different models of professional qualification are aimed at:

a) a diploma in pedagogics with special reference to adult education (Dipl.-Päd.);
b) pedagogics as a main subject with special reference to adult education (M.A., Dr.phil.);
c) a vocationally-related additional subject for graduates of scientific universities who have not acquired any pedagogical qualification in general or adult education is under consideration (Project sponsored by the Volkswagen Works Foundation).

6. Academically-oriented, systematised and vocationally-related training and study courses outside the universities are offered principally by the German Federation of Labour and the German Federation of Clerical Workers in special countries.
7. Programmes in association with the media are utilised to a greater extent in vocational and civic adult education than in the universities. In the first place, the German People's University Association have cast a critical glance at the television programmes (Adolf-Grimme Prize awarded by the German People's University Association) and secondly the German People's Universities have adopted television as a method of education and as a subject for critical investigation (People's University Working Party on Television) in the courses they offer.(58)
8. As part of their media programmes (Telekolleg) the adult education institutions provide direct teaching facilities and T.V. teaching equipment.
9. The adult training institutions are now in the preparatory stage of curriculum planning for educational leave schemes.
10. Despite its increased use of systematised forms of organisation, adult education has not neglected educational assistance schemes designed for the socially deprived, e.g. older people, and marginal groups in the community.
11. Adult educational institutions participate in schemes initiated by groups of adults which are not institutionally organised in the first instance(59), e.g. plans for school development and centres for continued education.
12. As a rule, school development and school building plans contain arrangements for associating adult education with the new integrated schools.
13. Although appropriations for adult educational institutions are on the increase they are inadequate in comparison with the funds available to youth education institutions.
14. Adult education reform is confined to adult educational institutions and independent schemes are generally few in number.

The examples we have quoted of reform in the third and fourth post-school cycles could be amplified. As a result of an inhibiting tradition and also because the effectiveness of the new approaches has not yet been conclusively demonstrated in many cases the pace of educational reform in the Federal Republic is comparatively moderate. While this inhibiting factor acts as a curb on reforming enthusiasm it also discourages unrealistic action by the over-zealous or those who are heading for a complete break with the past.

NOTES

1. German Council for Education, Recommendations by the Education Commission, A Structured Plan for Education (Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen) adopted at the 27th session of the Education Commission on 13.12.70, Bonn. See also J.H. Knoll, Erwachsenenbildung, Aufgaben, Möglichkeiten, Perspektiven, Stuttgart 1972.

2. G.Z.F. Bereday, "Reflections on Comparative Methodology in Education 1964-1966", in: Comparative Education, Vol.3, No.3, June 1967.

3. See the collection by W. Keim, Gesamtschule, Bilanz ihrer Praxis, Hamburg 1973, with bibliography.

4. J.H. Knoll et al. Bildungszentrum-Tatbestände, Probleme, Meinungen, Essen 1972.

5. Framework law for higher education, Government project adopted by the Federal Cabinet 29.8.73, Bonn. For an overall view of the question see an article by the author of the present document, "As Novas Universidades Alemãs e as exigências da Sociedade", in: Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia, Tomo XXIX, 1973.

6. OECD, "New Approaches in Post-Secondary Education", Background report by the Secretariat, Paris, 1973, and "Non-traditional Forms of Study in Post-Secondary Education", Paris, 1973. See also UNESCO, ED-72/Conf. 1/15, Paris, 27th April, 1973.

7. "Non-traditional Forms of Study in Post-Secondary Education", op.cit.

8. Idem.

9. Commission on Non-traditional Study (Samuel B. Gould, Chairman), Diversity by Design, San Francisco, Washington, London, 1973.

10. Diversity by Design, op.cit.

11. C.O. Houle, The External Degree, San Francisco, 1973.

12. *Diversity by Design*, XIII, see the bibliography.

13. "New Approaches in Post-Secondary Education". op.cit.

14. *Idem*.

15. *Idem*.

16. *Second ruling on second cycle grammar school education* (Gymnasium). Ministry of Education decision 21.10.60 - II 4 3.30-0/2 No. 5467/60. The Saarbrücken framework agreement was adopted during the 78th plenary session of the Permanent Conference of Ministers of Education 29/30th September, 1960 in Saarbrücken. The organisation of teaching (methods and content) in second cycle secondary education (Gymnasium) as formulated in the Saarbrücken accord was incorporated in the official publication of the Ministry of Education 23.2.62 - II E 3.30-0/2 No.5685/61. See also: Prof. Dr. Holzapfel, *Prinzipien für die Gestaltung des höheren Schulwesens*", a communication to the Seminar of the German Higher Education Commission, 9.9.62 in Munich within the framework of the General Assembly of the Gesellschaft Deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte, published in *Naturwissenschaften*, 50, 118-122 (1963). In comparison see by the author of the present document: *Gemeinschaftskunde*, Heidelberg, 1965.

17. Recommendations and reports of the German Commission for Education and Culture 1953-1965. Complete edition, Stuttgart, 1966.

18. See: *Zur Situation und Aufgabe der deutschen Erwachsenenbildung* (29.1.60). For the development of adult education since 1960 see J.H. Knoll, *Einführung in die Erwachsenenbildung*, Berlin/New York, 1973.

19. *Stellung und Aufgabe der Volkshochschule* (1963) ed. Deutscher Volkshochschulverband, Frankfurt/Main, 1963 and H. Keim, J. Olbrich, H. Siebert, *Strukturprobleme der Weiterbildung*, Düsseldorf, 1973.

20. See: A collection published to mark the inauguration of Bochum University, Bochum, 1965.

21. See Schelsky: *Einsamkeit und Freiheit. Idee und Gestalt der Deutschen Universität und ihrer Reformen*, Hamburg, 1963. K. Jaspers, *Die Idee der Universität*, Berlin/Hamburg, 1946, as well as what has been published on the first phase of the reform: F. Wagner, *Wissenschaft in unserer Zeit. Abhandlungen*

zu einer allgemeinen Morphologie, Heft 27, Köln/Graz, 1957; A. Dempf, "Die Einheit der Wissenschaft", Schriften des Hochschulverbandes, Heft 7, Göttingen 1955, and by the same author, "Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit, Kulturpolitischer Kommentar 165-166", Radio of North Germany (NDR) published and multigraphed.

22. Article 91b states: The Federal and Länder authorities may co-operate on the basis of educational planning agreements and may initiate supra-regional research projects. Participation in costs is fixed within the agreements.

23. cf. J.H. Knoll, Einführung in die Erwachsenenbildung, op.cit. and Bildungsgesamtplan, Volumes I and II, Educational Planning Commission of Federal and Länder governments, on the basis of Article 9 of their administrative agreement to set up an educational planning commission to elaborate recommendations and resolutions.

24. See: H. Keim et al. Strukturprobleme der Weiterbildung, op.cit. p.221 ff.

25. See: S. Baske, M. Engelbert, Zwei Jahrzehnte Bildungspolitik in der Sowjetzone Deutschlands, Documents I and II, Berlin, 1966.

26. In this context, the discussions by the German Education Commission of the 1959/60 framework plan are symptomatic.

27. G. Picht, "Vom Bildungsnotstand zum Notstand der Bildungspolitik" in Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, October, 1973, p.665 ff.

28. Among the critical analyses may be quoted Hessische Blätter für Volksbildung, "Ein Plan und ein Gesamtplan"; Strzelewicz, W., Kadelbach, G., Sperling, D., Spaeth, G., in particular Sperling, D., "Weissagungen, Träume und Gesichte"; Spaeth, G., "Überlegungen zum Kooperativen System der Erwachsenenbildung". "Der Plan für eine konzertierte Bildungs-Aktion", in Internationales Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung 1969; "Volkshochschule im Westen: Gesamtplan für Baden-Württemberg", 3/1968; Klugert, K., "Wirklich ein Gesamtplan?", 4/1968, p.150; "Picht-Plan wird geprüft", 4/1968, p.244; Muth, H., "Kooperation oder Koordination? Anmerkungen zum Picht-Plan", 6/1968, p.241; Becker, H., "Politische Bildung im System kooperativer Erwachsenenbildung", 1969, p.202.

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34. E. Reimer, *Schafft die Schule ab! Befreiung aus der Lernmaschine*, Hamburg, 1972.

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36. Plowden Report, *Kinderschule-Elternhaus - Eine Untersuchung über das englische Primarschulwesen*, ed. H. Belser et al., Frankfurt/Berlin/Munich, 1972.

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43. Klaus von Dohnanyi (ed), Die Schule der Nation, Zur Bildungsdebatte: Fakten, Forderungen, Folgen, Düsseldorf/Vienna, 1971.

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45. The conception of the universities of Bremen and Bochum was already formulated at the beginning of the 60s. The foundation stage was delayed, however, by a movement towards participation within the framework of the reform of higher education.

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48. Information Bulletin of the Ministry of Research of North Rhine-Westphalia, H.7, Düsseldorf, October, 1973.

49. Hochschulrahmengesetz (Framework law for the reform of higher education), Der Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, Bonn, 1973 (Documents in Appendix).

50. Idem.

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53. Information Bulletin of the Ministry of Research of North Rhine-Westphalia, op.cit.

54. J.H. Knoll, Einführung in die Erwachsenenbildung, op.cit., p.308 ff.

55. W. Löding et al. "Mathematisches Vorsemester, Protokoll eines Experiments, Lehren und Lernen im Medienverbund, Vol.4, Heidelberg, 1972.

56. See J.H. Knoll, Einführung in die Erwachsenenbildung, op.cit. p.146 ff.

57. G. Picht in: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, op.cit.

58. B. Donnepp et al., *Der Adolf-Grimme-Preis*, Braunschweig, 1973.

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II

THE UNITED STATES

A REVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION DEGREE PROGRAMMES SPECIALLY DESIGNED FOR ADULTS

by
Thurman J. White

I. INTRODUCTION

Degree programmes designed especially for American adults are a part of the enlarging effort to provide access to higher education. Some of them are undergraduate degrees; some of them are graduate. In the United States, extension degrees and evening college degrees have been the traditional means of access to higher education for adults who have completed their compulsory education and who have committed by choice or necessity the large part of their lives to non-school activities such as homemaking or earning a living. Extension and evening college degrees characteristically are reflections of the traditional daytime programmes in courses, course sequencing, admissions, calendar of classes, attendance requirements, tests, credit hours per course, and graduation requirements. Special degree programmes are easily recognised by their break with the replicative pattern of the traditional daytime programmes. They characteristically admit a person to study what he does not know, at times and places convenient to him, in methods of study which are congenial to his learning style, at a pace adjusted to his talents and available resources, including time, and finally, they provide for an assessment of his achievement in an established programme.

II. THE NEED FOR SPECIAL DEGREES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Degrees designed especially for adults fill a vacuum in the educational environment of the American people. Traditional degrees, even where offered in an extension format, are at best limited in their appeal and at worst insensitive to the phantom curriculum of life. Given the perspective of the centuries invested in the perfection of traditional degrees, for them to be otherwise would be more of a confession of failure than an admission of limitation. Traditional degrees were not and are not designed to be more than America's best introduction to cultural life and to the professions for young people in a continuous schooling from childhood to the responsibilities of maturity. Similarly, the great outpouring in American higher adult education of non-degree related short courses, training programmes, discussion groups, and correspondence courses has been and now is a popular form of learning beyond the period of compulsory schooling. Adults do find them useful and do derive such intense satisfaction from them that not only does their place in American society seem assured but their future is solidly a predictable growth. The vacuum is somewhere in the interstices between the traditional degrees and the non-degree offerings in higher adult education.

At the risk of oversimplification, the people in the vacuum are beyond the age of continuous full-time schooling, repelled by the mechanistic application of course credits as the basic evidence of learning required for a degree, hungry for a chance to learn what they do not know, and responsive to the scholarly community that gives degree recognition to their academic achievements.

A study, sponsored by the Commission on Non-Traditional Study in order to have data on which to base its 1972 recommendations, provides very hard data on the potential number of adults in this vacuum. It was done as a survey of "Learners" and "Would-Be Learners" in a sample of one hundred and four million (104,000,000) adults and used a questionnaire designed by the Berkeley office of Educational Testing Service. A significant report of the study states:

> To estimate the extent to which the present adult population aspires to some formal certification, particularly a degree, in the future, both Would-Be Learners and Learners were asked to indicate all the certificates or degrees ranging from "none" to "doctoral degree" they would like to obtain in the next ten years. Among the total sample of one hundred and four million adults, thirty-nine per cent indicated no interest in formal recognition; twenty-two per cent would like to receive a certificate or license; sixteen per cent, a high school diploma; twelve per cent, a B.A. degree; nine per cent, an A.A. degree; eight per cent, an M.A. degree; and four per cent, a doctorate. Thus while non-credited learning will continue to be sought by many adults, the majority may seek learning opportunities that lead cumulatively to formal recognition.(1)

Such a large number of men and women is surely compelling in any area of society - politically, economically, educationally, or even in terms of those wanting welfare benefits.

But leave the millions of people for the moment and ask, "How reasonable are they?" In fact, the social forces of America have brought higher education to this moment of truth. The endeared Jefferson pronouncement that a government of the people will succeed with an educated people is a clear call to this generation of Americans and has a popular subscription that defies any other alternative.

> It is commonplace to hear people say that Americans are sold on the value of education. What this means is that Americans have been sold on the value of core education, formal education for K-12, or K-16, or K-22, or whatever. The value of high school diplomas or college degrees can no longer be questioned. In a sense, educators have sold this system, the public has bought it (and demands more of it), and society is now stuck with it, whether it wants to be or not. Educators are in a position not unlike a manufacturer who stimulates the appetite of consumers for more of his product and then has belated qualms of conscience about whether the product is as good as he thought. He can improve the product, but in the practical order of things he cannot readily take it off the market. In education, the demand created for diplomas and degrees does not permit a reduction in their availability.(2)

In search of degree satisfaction, adults who are excluded from further full-time schooling have three learning characteristics.

The first characteristic is that adult learners want to move ahead in areas which have meaning for them. Adults are troubled; they are frustrated; they are concerned; interested; curious; and busy coping with change. They have goals, aspirations, and their own perceptions of a better life. All of these lead to learning and in them we find the essential ingredients for a meaningful special degree approach. The curriculum for adult learners is reality centred. It relates to the need for professional development and for changing careers; it relates to the need for credentials and licensure which provide access to new economic and social opportunities; it relates to the need for more effective public and community participation; it relates to the need for happy homes and families; it relates to the need for more precise behaviours in energising, moving, sensing, emoting, and thinking; and it relates to the need for a better understanding and appreciation of the good, the true, and the beautiful. "Give me knowledge that I can make a part of my life" is the summit demand of adult learners. And from this we derive an important implication: the special degree for the adult learner is organised around the behaviours of adulthood. It is problem-centred: it uses game-playing techniques, simulation exercises, hands-on-learning experiences, apprentice-master relationships, and case studies. It pauses frequently for the individual to internalise and make them a part of his life.

The second characteristic is that adult learners want to move ahead from what they already know. Traditional degrees use academic transcripts for information about the previous learnings of students. And all of us are keenly aware that transcripts of academic work done a decade earlier are terribly incomplete and imprecise reflections of what an adult now knows. Every year of adulthood adds to the individual's fund of useable knowledge and behaviours. Consequently, the lock step of the traditional degree programme has the no-forward motion of a squirrel cage for most of the adult population - especially those over thirty. To move the assessment of previous learning from the files of the computer to the minds of scholarly sympaticos is also to make a fundamental change in the area of professor-learner relationships. For adult learners, to the traditional role of knowledge transmission by the professor is now added the role of learning management and programme planning for individual learners. A model for the new role is the successful Ph.D. adviser because the new role has many of the same requirements: an intimate familiarity with the mind of the student, a broad understanding of the resources which the student may tap to get what he needs to know, a knack for helping students plan a programme of study designed to efficiently exploit the available learning resources, a helpful monitoring stance throughout the student's pursuit of his programme, and a keen interest in finding the right professor for the student's next programme of study.

The third characteristic is that adult learners want to move ahead at times and in places which are convenient to them. The responsibilities of adulthood make it necessarily so. Many adults are earners while they learn, and their job commitments come first. They cannot forego the money of this month in order to spend from earnings later, even though the learning may very well result in increased earnings. Similarly, the commitment to family and community service puts the adult learner in a time and place trap to which the special degree must accommodate or the whole thing is off. In order to help adults in their battle against ignorance during the fifty or more years of adulthood, special degrees are asked to swing with the rhythm of reality and get with adults when they can get to the programme.

III. INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO THE NEED FOR SPECIAL DEGREES

The idea of open access to higher learning in America is dateable at least back to 1865 when Ezra Cornell gave the school motto to the University which bears his name: "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any subject." More than a century later the wisdom of his vision is abundantly clear, with one further insight furnished by the intervening years: many institutions are needed to provide the opportunity for any person to find instruction in any subject.

Special degrees are one response to the needs of today for general access to post-secondary education and have been offered by a variety of institutions. The special degrees have also varied in programme design. And perhaps more significantly, they have been addressed to a variety of potential student groups.

Among the institutions which offer special adult degrees are traditional public and private universities, new institutions created for the purpose, and innovative consortium arrangements. The programme designs have reflected an astonishing ingenuity in mixing books with new technologies, combining independent study with group sessions, relating abstract learnings to life experiences and vice versa, and blending paper and pencil tests with an almost unlimited array of auditable evidences of learning. The potential student groups have been largely perceived as people

a) with a focused interest in the liberal arts,
b) with a desire for a professional preparation, and
c) with a concern for life-centred learning.

The liberal arts approach has been taken by the University of Oklahoma, Syracuse University, Brigham Young University, the University of South Florida, and others. The professional approach has been taken by the University of Wisconsin, Nova University, Syracuse University, Brigham Young University, Central Michigan University, the New York Institute of Technology, and others. The life-centred approach has been taken by Minnesota Metropolitan State College and the University without Walls. An approach to all potential student groups has been developed by the New York Empire State College, the Illinois Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, and Florida International University.(3)

Detailed descriptions are available from the offering institutions, and it is suggested that anyone interested in a particular programme address a direct inquiry to the appropriate institution. Synoptic descriptions are available to the interested educationist for most of the above degrees, as well as others, in Houle (The External Degree),(4) Marien (Beyond the Carnegie Commission),(5) Pitchell (A Directory of U.S. College and University Degrees for Part-time Students),(6) and Change Magazines special publication (The Yellow Pages of Undergraduate Innovations).(7)

IV. ORGANISATIONS

The United States has established a decentralised system of higher education. It has done so through a constitutional responsibility which is reserved to the States. The federal government of the United States has foregone the public responsibility of a national university. For such a thing to happen in western civilisation may be a puzzle to many people who universally accept a great university as a hallmark in the affairs of their nation.

In the United States, institutions of higher education are chartered by the State and thus come to their official status in society. As a consequence, special degrees are offerings by:

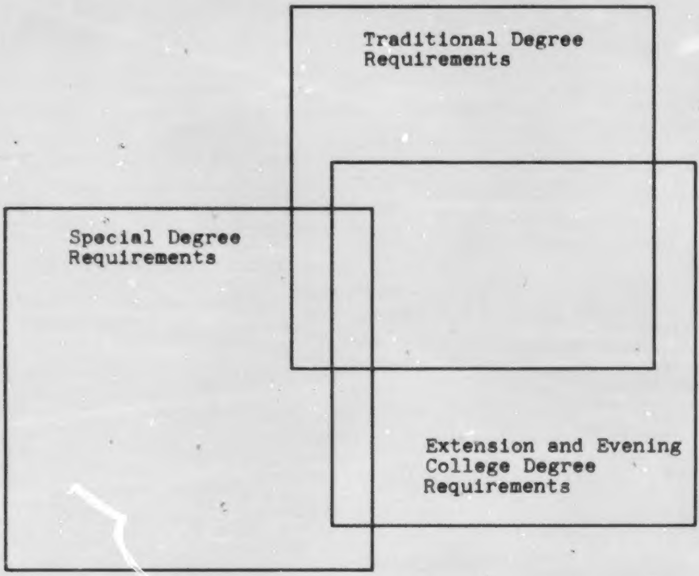
a) State sufferance through an established institution,
b) a State determination for the establishment of a new institution, or
c) in a State's statutory provision for an inter-state condescension in academic governance.

Hence special degrees have their legal validity only in the authority of a State - as in an institution, as in a State system of higher education, or as an inter-State consortium derived from the powers of the States as invested in the participating institutions. All of the foregoing legalisms are presently observable in the special degree programmes offered to the people of the United States. The exclusive focus of this monograph is concerned with special degree programmes which conform to the established system of State rather than nationally chartered universities. The concern is highlighted by the use of four programmes which conform to the constitutional responsibilities of the States. Two of the selected programmes are offered by the traditional institutions; one of the programmes is offered by an institution which was created by a State for the purpose; and one of the programmes is a multi-state effort presented under the academic powers granted to the participating institutions of higher learning by the several States. The programmes as classified are:

i) The Bachelor of Liberal Studies at the University of Oklahoma, and the Professional Development Degree in Engineering at the University of Wisconsin;
ii) The Bachelor's Degree at the Minnesota Metropolitan State College; and
iii) The Bachelor's Degree of the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, (commonly known as the University Without Walls).

The distinctive features of the special degrees for adults may be more completely understood by placing them in sharp contrast to the traditional degrees, and to the degrees awarded through the mechanisms of extension and evening colleges. The next part of this monograph presents the reader with a conceptual framework for making a meaningful comparison and gives an illustration of how an observer may see a particular programme effort as an entry into the special degree arena. Let us quickly dispose of degrees awarded through extension and evening colleges. These degrees are variations of the traditional degrees only by place or time of teaching - for the extension degree, the place is off-campus; for the evening college, the time is after 4.30.p.m. Nothing else has changed. The degrees follow the traditional patterns of credit hours; concentrations into majors and distributions into electives; and employ all of the administrative paraphernalia developed in the last part of the last century by American institutions in order to cope with the academic bookkeeping load imposed by mass higher education. The courses are the same; the required semester or quarter hours are the same; the textbooks and the examinations are identical for the full-time student; and no departure is made from the assumption that all knowledge is divisible into Carnegie units, i.e. sixteen clock hours of class for one credit unit. Traditional degrees are awarded when the required numbers are recorded on student transcripts and all concerned have been very careful to see to it that extension and evening college degrees mean the same thing.

The special degree is something else and, at the risk of being predicative of later formulations, the congruence of degree requirements for traditional degrees, special degrees, and extension and evening college degrees may be visualised in the following manner.


Traditional Degree Requirements
Special Degree Requirements
Extension and Evening College Degree Requirements

In the degree requirements as visualised above, the traditional degree requirements are closely associated with the degree requirements for programmes offered through extension or evening classes. The special degree requirements are tied to both but occupy a distinctive position in the higher education establishment. The extension degree gives access to traditional degrees for collegiate minds who cannot come to the campus; the evening college degree gives access for collegiate minds who can come to the campus but not during the day. Both degree programmes can add to the institutional enrolment by increasing the availability of the institution. But the chart is designed to show that the alternations to the traditional degree programmes by the extension and evening college degrees are quite miniscule compared to the alternatives which can be made to provide almost unlimited access to the institution by collegiate minds through special programmes broadly and boldly designed. The analysis which next follows is addressed to this proposition.

Even special degrees have requirements. In this respect they do not differ from any other degree in higher education. But their requirements are most markedly different from the traditional degree requirements. These differences are now examined in seven areas:

1. admissions,
2. registration,
3. residency,
4. activity schedule,
5. knowledge content,
6. content application,
7. completion (programme elements, proficiencies, and application of non-programmed learnings).

The statements in these seven areas have the weakness of any laconic analysis; brevity leaves no room for indications of the wide variations practised among the two thousand institutions of higher education in the United States. Probably each institution could spend an hour explaining how its requirements vary from the statements in this monograph. It is apparent, for example, that an institution could explain how exceptional it is in basing its degree requirements on demonstrated competency and performance. Certainly there is a firm commitment by a growing number of institutions to award credit for life experience and the Carnegie Corporation of New York has granted the Educational Testing Service a subvention to examine the possibilities of a more general application. But to recognise the weakness merely adds to the clarity of the statements as generally representative of American higher education.

The analysis is limited to a comparison of traditional degree requirements with special degree requirements. As noted above, the extension and evening college degree requirements are so similar to the traditional degree requirements that no significant understanding is lost by deferring consideration of them to a later point in the monograph. Indeed an understanding of the differences may be more sharply developed by only presenting the two extremes for examination. The line of demarcation between the two is clean and is clearly discernable in the table on page 47.

A pivotal lesson to be learned from the table is that the traditional degree is designed for all candidates and the special degree is designed for individual candidates. The traditional degree requires the individual to fit the highly structured programme of an institution; the special degree requires the institution to accommodate to the widely diverse natures of individuals. The traditional degree requirements are generally and specifically the same for all students; the special degree requirements are generally the same for all students but the specific requirements are individualised. Even so, the special degree programmes vary a great deal in the amount of individualisations in their specific requirements. In some of the seven areas used in the above analysis, a special degree programme may be completely individualised while in some areas it may be uniform in its requirements for all students. The following chart illustrates the point. For the illustration, four special degree programmes

A CONTINUUM RATING OF THE INDIVIDUALISATION OF SPECIFIC DEGREE REQUIREMENTS

Code:
X Extension degrees
EC Evening College degrees
BLS University of Oklahoma - Bachelor of Liberal Studies
MMSC Minnesota Metropolitan State College
UWW University Without Walls
PD University of Wisconsin: Professional Degree in Engineering

TRADITIONAL: All students have the same specific requirements for:				SPECIAL Individualised specific requirements for:		
Admission	X;EC	PD	BLS,PD	BLS		MMSC;UWW
Registration	X;EC					BLS,PD,MMSC,UWW
Residency	EC			X,PD	BLS	MMSC,UWW
Activity Schedule		X,EC		PD	BLS	MMSC,UWW
Knowledge Content	X,EC		BLS,PD		UWW	MMSC
Content Application	EC	X	MMSC	UWW	BLS,PD	
Completion:						
1. Carnegie Units	X,EC					MMSC,UWW,BLS,PD
2. Proficiency Assessment	X,EC		PD	BLS	UWW	MMSC
3. Applicability of non-programmed learnings	X,EC	MMSC	PD	UWW	BLS	

Traditional Degree Requirements	Special Degree Requirements
Admissions. First Enrolment: Graduation from an accredited secondary school. Variations include provision at some institutions for admission on a GED or similar equivalency; some institutions require upper ranking in graduating class; some require above average performance on nationally standardised tests.	Entry to programme by any individual who has evidence of readiness, e.g. transcripts from accredited institutions, certificates from company or proprietary schools, scores on nationally normed tests, publications and creative works, employment history, faculty audited demonstrations of competency, participation in informal adult education programmes, records of public service, recommendations of knowledgeable colleagues.
Transfers. Accepted only from accredited institutions of higher education; a grade point average of at least a "C" for undergraduate transfers and of at least a "B" for graduate transfers.	
Registration. At the beginning of a semester or quarter.	Any day of the year
Residence. For the undergraduates, the senior year or 3/4 of the last two years; for graduates, 3/4 of the Master's; and one year for the Doctorate.	Varies; no standard pattern, ranges from zero to a few weeks; no programme requires as much as a full semester in residence.
Activity Schedule. Classes held at fixed hours in a dated schedule for a 16 week semester or a 12 week quarter; credits awarded in Carnegie Units, e.g. 1 semester hour of degree credit for 16 clock hours in class.	Emphasis on independent study; group sessions at times and places convenient to the students; no standard pattern for the assignment of Carnegie units or their equivalents.
Content: Knowledge. Course content replicative in accredited institutions; textbook centred; credit transfer routinely administered "by the book".	Programme content tailored to individual needs and interests; emphasis on student moving ahead from what he knows; no established routine for inter-institutional transfer of candidates' achievements.
Content: Application. Laboratory experiments and library problem assignments replicative in accredited institutions; written manuals and instructions commonly available; centred in campus facilities; credit transfer routinely administered "by the book".	Systematically exploits opportunities for learning and use of learning in the off-campus world of the learner; no established routines for inter-institutional transfer of candidates' achievements.
Completion.	
1. Carnegie Units: For undergraduate degree, 128 semester hours; for a Master's, 32 semester hours, frequently plus a thesis; for a Doctorate, 64 semester hours, usually plus a dissertation.	Satisfactory demonstration to the institutional faculty that the planned programme was followed; expectations stated in terms other than Carnegie units, e.g. process and/or levels of competency.
2. Proficiency (on examinations or other assessment): Established course by course.	Faculty and/or nationally normed tests for topics or broad areas of knowledge; faculty committee review of performance of contract (or other individual planned programme).
3. Application of non-programmed learnings: none for graduate degrees; upper limit of ½ common for undergraduate degrees by advanced standing examinations and recommended equivalencies by the Commission on Accreditation of Service Experiences.	Aggressive in search for degree applicability of extra-collegiate learnings, e.g. company training programmes, work experiences, travel, creative artistry, published works, proprietary school courses, performance on CLEEP and similar tests, participation in short courses, conferences and other non-credit higher adult education.

have been plotted. Each is rated on the extent to which it has individualised the specific requirements for the seven previously identified areas.

To assist in the interpretation of the ratings, a similar plotting has been made for extension and evening college degrees; as noted above these degrees are very close to the traditional degrees in their general and specific requirements. Consequently, a first look at their variations in the plotting will illuminate the variations plotted for the special degrees

The ratings assigned in the above chart are admittedly arbitrary and a panel of experts could conceivably vote a dramatic shift of some plotted positions. Nonetheless, the chart illustrates the point that not one of the four most highly publicised special degree programmes is completely individualised in its specific requirements. Quite possibly, the chart reflects a subterranean search for a set of standards which may eventually have the same mobility among institutions of higher education as that now accorded to the traditional degree requirements. When and if the search is successful, special degrees will in their turn have become traditional.

We turn now to the immediate question of accomplishment. Are special degree programmes proving their promise of an enlarged accessibility for collegiate minds to the collegiate faculties? We need not be coy or cavalier in the answer. Special degree programmes are demanding in scholarly effort which transcends the episodic yearn to learn commonly observed in people of all ages. They are more than band-aids for small lesions of ignorance. They are more than opiates for localised frustrations. For in all of their academic aberration, they do place long-term obligations on their students and require a sustained effort of systematic study which has previously been experienced only by the young who could go to college as a full-time occupation for four or more years.

V. THE IMPACT OF SPECIAL DEGREES ON POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Special degree programmes for adults are too few and too recent in the United States to provide a solid basis for a precise judgement of their educational impact. The hard data from sophisticated research are relatively sparse and scattered, although more and more researchers are turning their attention to the phenomenon with strong indications of future publications.(8) At this time an adult educationist may derive some general notions by an examination of their impact on:

1. the literature of higher education,
2. the students,
3. the system of higher education.

In the statement which follows, the intent is to begin the examinations; not arrive at conclusions. To do more with the available data would run a high risk of an erroneous estimate of impact. The purpose here is to identify some of the evidence that special degrees do make a difference to some people; it is not to move from the little now known into a speculation on the special degree as fad or fundamental reform.

1. The Impact of Special Degrees on the Literature of Higher Education

As of now, two observations about the impact on the literature of higher education seem most obvious. First, learning about special degree programmes is still largely an inductive process, hence one must turn to the published documents and statements which have been issued by the offering institutions and their spokesmen. Second, the trenchant scholarly insights into special degree programmes have thus far been revealed as one of the particulars of more generalised pronouncements.

On the first point, it should suffice to say that the mind inclined to conclusions about special degrees has an array of detail to process. The field of study is still forming; the generalisations are practically non-existent; and the gestaltic principles of commonality have yet to emerge. Nonetheless, the degrees are facts. Any one of them is imitable. What is published by the offering institutions and their representatives is auditably true. In this somewhat restricted sense, the literature is replete and open. Anyone with the desire to learn has open access to the literature. An impressive quantity of published materials is available from the offering institutions for the asking.

On the second observation, the clear comment is guardedly positive. Special degrees have attracted a limited amount of highly focused scholarly attention, consequently the available literature is also limited.(9) More frequently, American educationists have treated special degrees as a part of their concern about the approach of higher education to all the adults who have higher learning needs beyond their formative years. In this context, a rather substantial impact is observable. For the serious student of the subject, a selected bibliography is appended which reflects the scholarly consideration of several educationists about special degrees for adults.

2. Impact of Special Degree Programmes on Students

A common thrust of special degree programmes in the institutions of higher education in the United States is to give previously excluded adults a chance to learn something at the collegiate level and to be suitably certified. It is of course too soon to form a conclusion on how well the thrust has been achieved; as of this moment, something of the fact is all that is allowed.

The student response to special degree programmes has been carefully recorded and faithfully reported by all the institutions included in this monograph. The requirement for student data is quite common by bodies in the United States which have the responsibility for educational funds. Included among such bodies are governing boards, state legislatures, the Congress and philanthropic foundations. Since the programmes herein discussed are all subject to one or more of the above responsible bodies, it is no surprise to find quite adequate information on their students.

The enrolment pattern is remarkably similar for the programmes. An initial group of modest numbers is followed in the span of a few months by a rapidly accelerating increase. Three examples illustrate the point. The University Without Walls began in the Fall of 1971 with an opening enrolment of less than one thousand; during the year the total enrolment mushroomed to approximately three thousand.(10) Minnesota Metropolitan State College first admitted students in February, 1971, when fifty were enrolled.(11) Since that time, MMSC has been admitting fifty to seventy-five new students per month and passed the one thousand mark midway in 1974.(12) The University of Oklahoma opened the Bachelor of Liberal Studies in March, 1961, with seventy-five students. In ten years, two thousand six hundred students had enrolled.(13) The University of Wisconsin had fourteen enrolments at the beginning in 1970 of the Professional Development Degree Programme in Engineering. Enrolments were over two hundred and fifty as of July, 1973.(14)

How long will the rapid increase continue? Only experience will answer; but it does seem worth noting that the Oklahoma programme reached a plateau of fourteen hundred active students after eight years. Wisconsin expects to stabilise in the range of one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty active students.

Over a period of years, adult educationists may expect to gain some fresh insights into the learning behaviour of adults by observing their persistence in the special degree programmes. All four of the above programmes have granted degrees - a fact which may tell us more about the previous preparation of the early-on enrollees than it does about their persistence in programmed study. Only the Oklahoma programme has sufficient history to give some clues on the matter. Out of 2,600 enrolments during the first ten years, 249 graduated, and 1,046 dropped out.(15) While the drop-out rate is about ten per cent less than that of entering college freshmen in traditional programmes and may derive from many causes, it is larger than a special degree apologist would like. The possibility must be admitted that newer programmes will find better ways to retain their students, but until their experience proves it, prudent institutions will think seriously about recruiting twice as many students as they expect to be teaching during any one year.

In the larger programmes, the statistics on other student characteristics are stabilised enough to be instructive. By comparing the students in Oklahoma's programme with those in the University Without Walls, some interesting features are surfacing (see Table).

	Oklahoma BLS(16)	University without Walls(17)
Sex		
Enrolment:		
Male	78	51.5
Female	22	48.5
Graduate		
Male	78	44.5
Female	22	55.5
Age		
Under 30	12%	60%
Between 30-50	70%	35%
Over 65	2%	3%
Previous Education		
With some college	80%	75%
Occupations		
Full-time students	0.1%	31%
Service (civil)	61%	
Service (social and personal)		25%
Professional Technical Managerial	19%	16%
Housewife	6%	2%

3. Impact on the System of Higher Education

How has the established higher education system changed in order to provide degree programmes specially designed for adults?

Let us begin with a consideration of the changes where they are most visible - i.e. in the parts of the system where the degrees are offered. The three areas of change to be considered are in:

a) attitudes,
b) organisation, and
c) faculty selection.

Attitudes come first in the order of considerations, partly because they are the first things to be changed in the sequence of changes which accompany special degree efforts, and partly because they are the most difficult of the changes to identify, understand, control, predict, and assess. It goes almost without saying that most of the people in the United States' system of higher education are pro-traditional and anti-special degrees. Quite generally, people who have been attracted to careers in colleges and universities place a higher value on doing the academic programme as it has usually been done through the centuries (at least as they perceive it to have been usually done), and they possess a strong aversion to the placement of energy and resources for the development and operation of programmes which fall outside the customs of the centuries. On a scale of one for complete aversion to special degrees to ten for complete value toward them, the change in attitude so far has been probably on the order of one degree up to the third degree. How did so modest though significant a change occur?

The answer at every point of special degree offering is that the change occurred slowly. Only an utterly bemused academician or politician can hope that, like Athena, a fully developed programme ready and completely prepared for immediate service can spring in an instant from one mind. The period of planning is long, arduous, and convoluted. If it were a less exciting idea, good minds would never persist in its pursuit. All of the highlighted programmes in this monograph emerged after years of sustained discussion. The University Without Walls (1971) is historically traceable to a conference in 1964 of the founding institutions. The Oklahoma Bachelor of Liberal Studies (1961) has its roots in faculty retreats beginning in 1956. The Minnesota Metropolitan State College (1971) was a principal preoccupation for planning by the Minnesota State College System for at least two years. Supposedly a reasonable argument may be advanced that as the higher education system has more examples of special degrees the planning time will be markedly reduced. However, if that happens, it will reveal a simultaneous marked reduction in the academic hostility to special degree programmes. The shift from low value to at least an accepting value for the cited programmes occurred under circumstances of much deliberation and intensive study of the need and desirability. The experience at Syracuse University illustrates the point.

> When the original programme (the B.A.) was presented to the S.U. Senate, it was met with scepticism and was passed only because influential faculty and administrators were strongly in support of it. The major concerns expressed then were these: four years of academic work could not be mastered by students who were in residence so minimal a time as twenty-four days per year; such a degree programme for adults, external-to-campus students must represent, necessarily, a "watering down" of academic quality. Since that time, the climate has changed considerably. As an example of this change, I cite this interesting development. When some changes in requirements for our programmes were before the Senate for approval this Fall (1973) there was a good deal of feeling expressed that our requirements were too rigorous and were discriminating in comparison to the residential students' requirements.(18)

Further it should be noted that the change in attitude moves beyond the offering institution and agency to the accrediting association. Since the academic functions of the associations are performed by representatives of the member institution, and since special degree programmes have both recruitment and financial futures in the fact of accreditation, it naturally follows that the offering institution must be responsive to the attitudes in neighbouring institutions. As a case in point, when the examining team for the North Central Association of Colleges and Universities wrote their report (May, 1972) on the University Without Walls, they made the following statement:

> An entity granted a status in the North Central Association must have the authority to grant a degree (or diploma, or certificate). Moreover, it is expected to show that it has accepted responsibility for the student competencies for which the degree is granted. This responsibility may be demonstrated in such ways as by examination or by control of the conditions under which the educational experiences of, or at least plans for the development of, reliable procedures for handling and accounting for financial resources; for regulating appointments, promotions, and prerequisites of personnel; and for controlling the curriculum and nature of the academic programme. The team found no evidence that the Union itself had accepted responsibility for student performance through either of these means. The Union has no provision for Union-controlled examinations, nor does it have control of the conditions under which the educational experiences are made available. For example, in the Union each unit collects its own fees, disburses its own funds, and accounts for them in its own way. With regard to conditions of service, the faculty and staff of each unit must look to the home institution (or, in some cases, to the unit itself) - not to the Union. Each unit, and not the Union, controls the educational programme. If the Union does not directly control the awarding of degrees in the local units (or even indirectly control it through the control of monies or personnel), it is hard to see how the degree can be called a Union degree or how the Union can be the entity considered for Correspondent status.(19)

In response to the Examining Team's Report, the President jointly with the Director of Research filed a nine page letter with the Association. They concluded the letter as follows:

> The Union places major emphasis on its role as a new educational enterprise. While the Union itself does not have a campus in the traditional sense, the emerging network of UWW units constitutes

> a new concept of a campus. Each UWW unit provides a variety of learning resources, formal and informal, on and off campus, and in the real-world communities of its students.
>
> Unquestionably, the time has come when accrediting associations will be confronted with the issues involved in evaluating unique new structures. In this respect, the Union's candidacy represents a special opportunity for the North Central Association to set the basis for accrediting entities of this kind, thereby serving higher education in the nation.
>
> In summary, the Union will use a variety of measures and incentives to protect its integrity and to assure the quality of the services rendered in its name. Its greatest strength is in the very nature of the organisation, consisting of member institutions that are themselves accredited, themselves concerned about quality control, themselves determined to see the Union an effective instrument.(20)

The Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities announced on September 5th, 1972 that it had been granted Correspondent Status (pre-accreditation) for the University Without Walls by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Let us now turn to the impact of special degrees on the organisation of higher education. Three of the four exemplary programmes are administered by academic units created for the purpose. The Minnesota Metropolitan College was created by the State Legislature in 1971; the Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities received degree granting authority from the State of Ohio in 1971; the University of Oklahoma created a College of Continuing Education to administer the BLS in 1961.

The new administrative units may be seen as an appropriate response of the higher education system to experiment with new student resources, new forms of education, and new processes. The expected contribution of the UWW is indicated in the report of the accredition visit.

> It is clearly reformist, and therein lies its chief importance... The things UWW dislikes in higher education are things widely disliked; they do indeed need reform...Reform within a college or university must usually be compromised until it is piecemeal and ineffective. But as a change agent, the Union is co-ordinating a very different kind of education within established colleges and universities. Its units are trying things no small group of reformers could have otherwise sold to their faculties or administration. In other words, really significant reform inside colleges and universities may depend on the backing of a strong change outside them and that is what the Union is.(21)

At the University of Oklahoma, no outside change agent was needed to bring a new College into being. The reasoning of the faculty committee appointed to study the idea of a special degree has been reported by Turkett and Ruggiers:

> In effect, the academic programme of each student in the BLS is administered individually. This process requires administrative patterns in the College of Continuing Education which are somewhat different from those needed in traditional programmes. First of all, the volume of personal correspondence, individual counselling, and other services performed for each student is much greater than that typically furnished resident undergraduate students of the institution. The administrative staff of the College furnishes most of the educational materials needed by each student as he completes his programme of studies. Basic books are furnished the student either on recommendation of his faculty adviser or on his own request. Since these are furnished on a long term use basis, records must be kept of the books checked out to each student and his account audited when he completes an area of study. His comprehensive examinations are furnished by the College office. Placement tests are administered by staff of the College or arrangements made for off-campus administration. The initiation and maintenance of the cumulative folder for each student requires staff time and careful attention to orderliness and detail. All of these services result in a greater distinction between administrative and teaching functions in the College of Continuing Education than would typically be the case with programmes of other academic undergraduate units of the institution.
>
> While the candidate of other academic units takes courses in many departments of the University and deals with many administrative units in so doing, the BLS student continuously relates himself to the staff of the College office. He becomes very well acquainted with each staff member of the College and each learns to know him both as a student and as an individual.
>
> The flexibility provided the student in his enrolment and progress in area studies creates logistical problems faced by few, if any, other academic units of the institution. Applications, admissions, and enrolments are in progress throughout the year. They are not handled in neat periods of a day or week set aside for the purpose, they confront staff members daily. There is no set period for comprehensive examinations; they are administered at the convenience of the student on recommendation of his adviser. A single enrolment fee covers the student's financial obligation, not merely for a semester, or a year, but for whatever period of time he may require to complete area studies. These flexibilities

> demand administrative arrangements which serve the effectiveness of learning and the needs of faculty and students, not the convenience of administrators and staff. They require control procedures which permit the staff to perform these several functions simultaneously without losing the individual student or his adviser in the process.(22)

But a new degree does not necessarily mean a new degree granting unit. At Wisconsin, two existing units were designated to jointly administer the Professional Development Degree: The College of Engineering - Madison, and University Extension - Department of Engineering. Within these units a new administrative structure was erected to attend to the new degree.

Any assessment of the financial impact of the new degrees on the system of higher education is necessarily moved forward several years. At the moment, the impact is probably about that of a rose petal falling on a bed of moss. The programmes are too few and too tiny to be more than a barely discernible expenditure in the total national outlay for higher education. In addition, the start up costs have typically come from special grants made by the Federal Government or one of the several interested philanthropic foundations; the continuing costs have typically come from tuition fees paid by students. The fees significantly would not have otherwise come to the established system, so no other budget has suffered a loss. In another direction, all of the programmes seem to promise a savings in capital expenditure. Both UWW and MMSC by design off-load the cost of instructional facilities to the community; the Wisconsin programme builds in a component for study not under University instructors on the remarkable concept that the University mission is to enhance learning; the Oklahoma BLS uses non-University facilities for all except thirteen weeks of a typically four-year programme. The net financial impact to date, slight though it is in truth, is on the positive side in terms of added revenues and capital savings. Just how far this can be realised in the total system of higher education is a question of considerable moment and, beyond that, the question of how far it should be realised in the public philosophy of a nation founded on popular enlightment is an ethical concern beyond this monograph. It does seem safe to predict, however, that the special degrees could soon claim an impact on the revenues of the public treasury. The claim may be in the form of monies to the individual (like to the G.I. Bill), through deduction in the income tax of individuals for educational expenses, through incentive payments or credits to individuals and corporations for learnings which help on social problems, or a straightforward acknowledgement that spending public money for the support of public education is a public good when the education is open to any person of any age, race, religion, nation of birth, sex, or political persuasion.

Special degree programmes have changed the faculty mix. At Minnesota most of the faculty are drawn from the community on a part-time basis. In the UWW most of the teaching is done by an adjunct faculty composed of government officials, business executives, persons from community agencies, scientists, artists, writers, and other persons who make their living in other ways but who enjoy teaching and who bring special kinds of expertise and experiences to the UWW programme. At Oklahoma the faculty members hold academic appointments in departments throughout the University. The Wisconsin faculty mix is tilted to the non-university expertise. It seems fair to observe that, as the special degrees have addressed themselves to a new student clientele, the offering institutions have brought into play a new mix of intellectual resources, both on the payrolls of the institution and in the shadow universities of the citizenry. The mix is not to be confused with bringing knowledgeable people onto the campus to teach courses already in the catalogue for on-campus courses, laudable as this may be. Hitting this target is sufficient unto itself and is in another academic world which any thoughtful analyst will quickly exclude from the special degree population.

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   Dr. David Sweet, President, University of Minnesota, 105.Walter Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

   Dr. Samuel Baskin, President, Union for Experimenting Colleges and Universities, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Dr. Ernest L. Boyer, Chancellor, State University of New York, Albany, New York, 12203.

Dr. Robert Pringle, Board of Governors of State Colleges and Universities, Springfield, Illinois 62706.

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Case studies are being prepared for programs at:
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    California State Universities and Colleges
    University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, Colorado
    Florida State Board of Regents
    Miami-Dade Community College, Florida
    Roosevelt University, Illinois
    John Hopkins University
    Central Michigan
    Minnesota Metropolitan State College
    State University of New York
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III

INNOVATIONS IN BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

by
Geoffrey Squires

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to describe and analyse some current innovations in the British system of higher education which appear to have some relevance for the domain of adult education. Relevance in this case could mean two things. First, that developments in higher education provide models or patterns which might be followed in the adult domain; and secondly, that developments in higher education could facilitate the interaction between higher education and the adult domain. The emphasis in this report is on the latter, and in particular on changes in the procedures and processes of certification. However, since changes in certification often imply or are preceded by changes in course structure, these will be dealt with also. In Section VII, there will be a brief account of other innovations in higher education which may have middle- or long-term implications for the adult sector, and a short discussion of the potential of, and obstacles to, such changes. Both the changes in certification and other changes will be discussed in the light of a general typology of change developed in Section III.

The report has been written with some recent OECD documents in mind, in particular those arising from the Conference on Future Structures of Post-Secondary Education.(1) It also draws heavily on the recent and on-going work of the Nuffield Foundation's Group for Research and Innovation in Higher Education, which has conducted surveys in forty-eight universities and colleges (with over one thousand interviews) and a number of more detailed studies in the field of higher education, and with which the author has been associated since its beginning in 1972.(2) A number of secondary sources have been used, and are cited in the relevant places, and the report also draws on a small number of key interviews, which are listed at the end. All opinions expressed in this report, however, remain the responsibility of the author.

II. THE HIGHER AND ADULT DOMAINS

First, it is necessary to describe briefly what is meant by the higher and adult domains. Not only is this distinction usually difficult to make, but the British case may be atypical in certain respects, compared to other Member countries. The problem can be approached through a series of three distinctions.

The distinction between compulsory and post-compulsory education is widely used and relatively clear. In the United Kingdom compulsory schooling ends at the age of 16 (having been recently raised from 15) and any studies after that can be considered as post-compulsory. In 1971/72, out of a total of 644,000 just under 300,000 students left school either at the minimum leaving age or one term later. The students who stay on in secondary schools do their "O levels", and then some take "A" level examinations which are the necessary though not always sufficient qualification for entry into higher education. Others move to technical or further education colleges and pursue their studies there. Post-compulsory education in the United Kingdom thus comprises the upper reaches of secondary schooling, technical or further education colleges, colleges of education, polytechnics and universities. There are also a small number of specialised colleges of art and design, music, and drama.

Within the post-compulsory domain, the higher education sector is usually regarded as consisting of the universities, the polytechnics, and the colleges of education. The system is frequently described as a binary one (universities and polytechnics) and a considerable debate about the relative roles of these institutions has ensued since the polytechnics began to be created in the late 1960s. However, "binary" is more accurately a description of modes of financing than anything else: the universities are financed by the Treasury indirectly through the University Grants Committee, while all the other institutions are financed by the Local Authorities, with a varying proportion of funds coming centrally from the Department of Education and Science.

As regards curricula, the situation is much less clear-cut: there is a certain overlap between some of the new universities (themselves formerly Colleges of Advanced Technology) and the Polytechnics, and between some courses in the Polytechnics and the Colleges of Education. The latter are very much in a state of flux, following the James Report:(3) some are to be integrated with nearby Polytechnics, some will have their courses validated by universities with whom they have long-standing associations, or by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), which validates all degree courses in Polytechnics; some are considering federations with other local colleges. The recent proposal for a new two-year award, a

Diploma in Higher Education, may mean that the colleges of education will begin to offer a range of courses less closely geared to the needs of teacher training. The picture is further complicated by the existence of the Open University, with its student ceiling recently raised to about 48,000 part-time students, out of a total of about 250,000 (mainly full-time) students in all universities (1972/73 figures). Since the Open University students are almost entirely over 21, and can enter without previous "A levels", the institution arguably belongs to the adult domain. In all there are forty-seven universities in the United Kingdom (counting the Welsh colleges individually and London University as one) and thirty polytechnics. In 1970, 11.8 per cent of those aged 19 were in some institution of higher education. The overall trend of an increase in this percentage was affected in 1973 by a fall-off in student applications and by economic austerity.

The adult domain cannot be distinguished from the domain of higher education by referring to any one single characteristic; as noted above, the Open University, to take only one example, seems to belong to both. However, writers on adult education usually mention the following features as being characteristic of the field:

- Adult education continues well beyond the age at which formal education involves any sizeable proportion of the population. For example, the proportion of people in the 21-24 age range engaged in formal study in the United Kingdom is only 3.9 per cent (1970 figures) and this drops even more sharply after the age of 25.
- Adult studies are usually "recurrent" or intermittent with work and leisure, and therefore tend to be non-consecutive.
- Adult education courses often specify no entry requirements, and make no formal awards.
- The basic academic unit in adult education is the course, which may last anything from a weekend to several months.
- The range and variety of studies in adult education is more varied than that found in formal higher education.
- The provisions for financing adult education differ from those in formal education.

In the United Kingdom the adult education provision comes partly from local education authorities (evening institutes and classes), partly from university extramural activities, partly from professional bodies and partly from a large number of voluntary bodies, some of which, like the Workers Educational Association, have a long and distinguished history. The field is amorphous and difficult to encompass; and the public and institutional forms of adult learning may only be the tip of a much larger iceberg of autonomous learning activity, as described by Tough.(4) Moreover, the motives which spur people to engage in systematic study in adult life can vary enormously, from quite clear vocational necessities to much more elusive life needs. The Russell report in England has attempted to give an overview of this complex field, and point out possible directions for development.(5)

If the higher education sector consists primarily of universities, polytechnics and colleges of education, which of these institutions is changing most? Which of them is likely to have most impact on the adult domain?

The answer to this question is not by any means obvious. The universities, after a period of rapid expansion and change in the period 1960-70, in which twenty new charters were granted, are now entering a phase of much slower growth (in a few cases of no growth) due to cuts in government spending and shortfalls in student applications. The massive expansion of the university system which followed on the recommendations of the Robbins report(6) in 1964 now seems to have been definitely curtailed. Moreover, there is some evidence that less growth in the universities means less innovation as well, as the margin for risk-taking narrows.

The polytechnics, also affected by government cuts in spending and uncertainty about student numbers, are nevertheless still in a more expansive and "innovative" phase than the universities, with many new courses being submitted to the CNAA for validation each year, and new organisational and curricular structures being mooted.

The colleges of education are in an even greater state of flux, following the James report. In fact, it is peculiarly difficult to say anything about the colleges of education at this particular point in time; the situation should have resolved itself somewhat in a year or two.

However, when we ask which of all these changes are likely to affect the adult domain most, the reply must take into account also the paradigmatic nature of the universities (the fact that they act as the high-status model) and also the fact that some of the significant changes may be taking place within these institutions at a lower level and on a smaller scale than the large institutional changes alluded to above, which have been prompted by the various government reports. Some of the changes described below cut across institutions, and are to be found in universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. In fact, it will be argued that the potentially most significant change, outlined in the next section, is one that can be found across the whole higher education sector, in varying degrees of strength.

III. A BASIC TYPOLOGY OF CHANGE

It may be useful to present this major change first as a simple typology, and then to examine particular changes in the light of it. As first stated, the typology will appear crude and oversimple, but it nevertheless provides a way of interpreting what otherwise might seem to be a collection of rather random innovations. The typology involves the use of six terms:

HOLISTIC	AGGREGATIVE
University education	Course
Degree	Credit

The change we are concerned with here involves a movement from a holistic model of higher education to an aggregative one: from the use of "university education" and "degree" as the central terms of discussion to the use of "course unit" and "credit".

Traditionally "higher education" has been synonymous with university education, and this implies a number of things. First, it implies a fixed and limited period of time, usually three or four years, which is consecutive not only in that it allows no intermissions within this period, but also in that it typically follows on directly from secondary education. Secondly, it implies a centralised base for study, either in the form of residential colleges or large, urban universities with strict rules about student attendance at lectures and classes. Thirdly, it is sequential in that students usually have to follow a strict linear sequence of studies, with perhaps some options in their final year. These studies usually entail specialised work in a particular discipline, and hence most of the staff and students' life centres on the organisational embodiment of that discipline, i.e. the department. And finally, the student's work issues in a single measure of achievement, the degree, which may be classified (ranked) but is always uni-dimensional.

Within this broad "holistic" model, there were and are variations. In the British context, it is perhaps worth recognising a further distinction between an Oxbridge model, and a civic university model, derived from the nineteenth-century German university, which is strongest in universities like London, Manchester and Birmingham. These two models correspond largely with the similar distinction made by Kerr in "The Uses of the University"(7) between the British and German traditions. The Oxbridge model, which has influenced not only specific other universities in the United Kingdom, like Nottingham and York, but has had a pervasive general effect on thinking, lays greater stress on community, in the form of the residential college, and on personal staff-student contact, in the form of tutorial teaching. The German model stresses above all the autonomy of the department, the importance of research and post-graduate work, and the leadership of the professoriate. However, for our purposes here, both can be seen as variants on a single type - the holistic model, with the characteristics listed above. Typically, the holistic model carries a great weight of tradition, and the implication that it is irreducible, indivisible and even impossible to analyse. As Huberman has noted, it is only recently that the formal university has begun to look empirically at its own functioning.(8) The holistic model has its origins in the university as a social and religious institution; an institution which pre-dates elementary or secondary education by hundreds of years.

The aggregative model of higher education is, by contrast, a modern arrival, and corresponds at least in part to Kerr's concept of the "multiversity". The basic academic unit here is the "course unit" or "module", which can vary in size: a student might take anything between eight and thirty-six of these to gain his degree. The relationship between units can vary also: some form a linear relationship (e.g. pre-requisite units) while others form a lateral one ("related", "contextual"), and others again may exist in self-sufficient isolation. It is often possible to have intermissions between units, and to spread the process of accumulating them over more than three or four years. The institution may be academically organised around these units, hence the existence of "course teams" rather than departments. And although the units can finally be put together ("aggregated") to form a degree or some other qualification, each unit in itself is credited, hence there are "course credits". Such credits, as the banking analogy implies, can be held over from one year to another, and can often be transferred from one institution to another. Two other points can be noted in connection with this aggregative model. Since the model lays no particular emphasis on "community" or "residence", it follows that study can take place in a decentralised way, through the use of mediated instruction such as correspondence teaching, radio and television, although there is usually a certain minimum of face-to-face teaching. And secondly, since this model is more purely an instructional one (concerned with curricula, methods and assessment) rather than a socio-educational one (concerned also with the sociology of the educational institution and the socialisation of students) it tends to be more amenable to rational analysis, and rational planning, implicit in concepts like "curriculum design" or "educational technology". Indeed these two concepts seem to go hand in hand with the aggregative model. One has only to contrast the rationality and explicitness of curriculum design as practised, say, in the Open University, with the implicitness, privacy and even mystery which so often characterise teaching and examinations in traditional universities to see that a change in model affects the detailed texture of university life.

Together, the movement from "higher education" to "course unit" and from "degree" to "credit" signal a move away from a holistic or organic model of higher education (with elitist overtones) to a more open, aggregative model, with expansionist overtones.(9) In Britain the holistic model is embodied generally in the universities (particularly Oxford and Cambridge); the aggregative model is to be found to a limited extent in newer universities, but more strongly in the polytechnics. The procedures adopted by the CNAA for the validation of polytechnic degree courses suggest the aggregative model more strongly than does anything in the university sector except perhaps the Open University.

Of the two models, it seems the latter which is most likely to have an impact on adult education as regards the interaction between higher and adult education. First, this is because it breaks down the seamless, consecutive and residential nature of higher education and thus allows it to merge more easily with the adult domain; secondly, because the course has always been the basic unit in adult education in the United Kingdom as elsewhere; and thirdly, because a credit system by its very nature lends itself to continuing, intermittent education, in which a student accumulates more credits as time goes on, without necessarily stopping at a particular aggregation of credits. The impact of the aggregative model as a paradigm or example for the adult domain is much less clear, but will be discussed briefly in Section VII. At this point, it may be useful to cite one of the conclusions of the 1973 Russell report on adult education:

> In two respects the experience of the Open University offers useful guidance. The credit system that it operates is appropriate to the circumstances in which adults study, especially as it also allows for certain prior study elsewhere to count for credit. Since part-time students must necessarily take a long time over a degree course, perhaps five years, there will be many who, through changes of employment or promotion, will be unable to complete their course in the institution in which they began. A credit structure that allows for transfer of credit has the flexibility that adult students require.(10)

It is now time to look at some specific innovations in the light of the above typology.

IV. THE HOLISTIC MODEL

In order to explore the holistic model of higher education further, we must look at the various main types of curricular pattern (overall pattern of studies in the three-year period) which exist in the universities and polytechnics. We may begin with the pattern which underpins the holistic model.

Towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, the British university system began to develop what was to become the characteristic pattern of study for the majority of students in this century, namely the single honours degree. (The Scottish system which was based on rather different assumptions still has a somewhat different pattern). In the single honours pattern, the student typically spends almost all his study time in one department, except for perhaps one or two outside options in the first year. He follows a programme which is largely compulsory, though it may include some internal options in the final year. He (or she) will tend to have spent most of his time with a small group of similar students whom by the end of three years he will know very well. He will also know most of the members of staff in the department on a fairly personal basis.

However, this single honours pattern in fact comprises two different kinds of degree; the "pure" single honours, and the professionally orientated degrees like law, medicine, engineering and agriculture; subjects which in some other countries are studied in separate institutes altogether. In the latter case, the core of the study programme is determined significantly by the need to gain exemptions from professional examinations, and this means that the universities have only a limited freedom to alter these programmes, unless the professional bodies agree. Nevertheless there have been some attempts to broaden this kind of education latterly; in engineering, the professional body concerned has introduced a course in "the engineer and society", and a few law departments (for example at Warwick and Kent and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London) have attempted to construct degrees which would appeal to those seeking a general rather than strictly professional education. However, the influence of the professional bodies means that innovation in universities or polytechnics in professionally orientated courses is probably less likely to occur than in other areas. A curious exception to this is medical education which, for reasons which cannot be gone into here, has introduced considerable innovations both in curricula and teaching in the last decade.

The "pure" single honours degree is subject to no such external restraints, but has two internal rationales which vary in the manner in which they are invoked. The first rationale, using terms like depth, rigour and standards, essentially aims to produce, in the top quartile of final degrees, students who would be capable of going on to do professional academic work if they wished or if the opportunity arose (i.e. further research) or if not, are at least well equipped to teach their subject at secondary school level. However, since the proportion of students going on to do work of this clearly related kind falls as the absolute number of students rises, this rationale is complemented by a second one which invokes notions like "a trained mind", "learning to think" and so on. Thorndike(11), at the turn of the century, made a collection of such claims, and the form of them has not changed much. His research cast great doubt on the existence of this kind of non-specific transfer of learning, and the doctrine of "formal discipline" as it was called. However, his findings seem to have had very little effect on the thinking in the United Kingdom; the doctrine of formal discipline is still commonly used to justify a high degree of specialisation in studies. Implicit in the doctrine is the idea that the student should concentrate his studies on a particular subject, or even an area within a subject, that he should do this over a substantial period of time (at least two years) and eventually internalise the characteristic "approach" or "habit of mind". There are signs that these assumptions are now being challenged in a number of different ways, but before examining these challenges, we must note briefly another and more recent curricular pattern which tends to reinforce the holistic model.

The current Nuffield study has explored what seems to be a major trend towards interdisciplinary or multi-disciplinary degree programmes in the universities, and there is some evidence to suggest a similar trend in polytechnics. Some colleges of education also appear to be thinking along these lines. There is not room here to discuss in detail the main questions to be asked about these new programmes; why they are being established, in what sense they are integrated, what organisational structures they necessitate, and so on. One may remark briefly that they are more common in the natural and life sciences than in the humanities, and many of them claim to be more integrated than they really are. However, there are three points which are important for this study. The first is that a multidisciplinary design or aim (i.e. a looser federation of various disciplines) seems to have the effect of opening up the tight single honours pattern, and promoting the kinds of changes we have called "aggregative".

Thus students take different parts of their programme in units from different departments, and a good deal of breadth and flexibility are built in. However, if the aim is truly inter-disciplinary (implying a close integration between all the elements of the programme) this has the effect of reducing flexibility and options once again, and the programme begins to take on many of the features of the single honours degree. In some cases, it becomes a new department, with a new hybrid discipline, e.g. Environmental Sciences, or European Studies. At present, this potential conflict between a flexible unit system and interdisciplinary courses does not seem to be widely recognised (possibly because most interdisciplinary courses are in fact multi-disciplinary) but in the long-term, the effect of truly integrated courses is likely to be one of reinforcing the holistic model.

From what has been said above, one might conclude that the forces which work to retain a specialised, holistic model of higher education are strong. They number the main professional associations, and probably a majority of academics in universities (who use also, though more obliquely, arguments based on professional standards) and a large proportion of university students. However, at this point, it is important to draw a distinction between the universities and the other institutions of higher education. Because the universities still cater to some extent for a student elite, and because of their heavy emphasis on discipline-based and specialised research there seems much less need for them to move towards the aggregative model, though some are doing so. However, the polytechnics are in a different situation. First, they educate towards a number of awards as well as a pass or honours degree: the Higher National Certificate, the Higher National Diploma, and possibly the two-year Diploma in Higher Education, if this becomes common. Secondly, they cater for both full-time and part-time students. Thirdly, there is constant pressure on them to cut costs. Fourthly, the tradition of specialised study and research is by no means as strong in them as in the universities. For all these reasons, it seems more likely that they will move more quickly than most universities towards an aggregative model of higher education, based on the course unit. As to colleges of education they remain in a state of transition but it is probable that some of the conditions pertaining to the polytechnics outlined above may apply to them also.

V. THE AGGREGATIVE MODEL : MODULARISATION

We have suggested that the basic academic currency of the aggregative model of higher education is the course, rather than an indivisible three-year whole. Modularisation seems to provide the sharpest example of this new focus, but it would be misleading to think that this was the unique form which it can take. The concept of a course - something less than the three-year whole, something with its own definable boundaries in terms of curricula and assessment and timetabling(12) - must arise as soon as a pattern of options emerges in any degree programme and as we noted above, the conventional single honours pattern does typically allow such options in the final or first year. However, they are usually within the departmental boundary, and therefore within the subject framework which Bernstein argues is the basic currency of English higher education, as distinct from the American pattern which is course-based.(13)

The move towards a modular course unit system seems to lead to a sharper definition of each course. In this connection, it is worth quoting the Hatfield study of modularisation, which is probably the most thorough analysis to date of the implications of these developments. In their survey of modular courses in the United Kingdom the authors write:

> "Despite the lack of common terminology there is general agreement with the definition of a module/course/course-unit as an identifiable part of programmes, whereby the part has specified objectives, a self-contained syllabus, an assessment and makes a measured contribution to the whole".(14)

As they point out, this necessitates a considerable explicitness as to how each course relates to other courses:

> "The definition of a course requires that it be a coherent section of teaching and study with clearly defined objectives. This in turn requires that the prerequisite knowledge/skills for success in study be specified either in terms of entry qualifications or in terms of the completion of earlier courses (credits). It also requires that prohibited combinations of courses be clearly stated......
>
> A further requirement of a course is that it must have an assessment performed at its completion......
>
> The term "programme" refers to the totality of courses studied by a student in gaining an award......"(15)

This general trend towards explicitness about objectives, content and assessment is reinforced by the movement towards an "educational technology" which emphasises rational approaches to the design of instruction. "Course development" is a central feature of this movement. One has only to contrast this with the typical syllabus outline still given to many students, consisting only of a list of books to be covered or experiments to be performed, to see the great change from an implicit, departmental approach, to an explicit, modular one. Indeed some academics consider it inappropriate to specify too exactly what is going to happen on their courses. Such open-endedness would be very difficult to maintain within a modular structure. With a holistic model, there can be considerable flexibility within the rigid departmental/disciplinary boundary; by contrast, with the aggregative model, that boundary is much less rigid, but there is less freedom to do as one likes within any given course.

The Hatfield report points out a great variation in the size or length of such modules, ranging from 8 to 36 to make up a full honours degree. Also, double modules and half modules exist, meaning that the teaching/learning units can vary considerably in size within one institution, without affecting the common system of timetabling and options. Modules or units may also be defined according to level (i.e. of difficulty) rather than by year.

It is extremely hazardous to predict whether the trend towards modularisation will continue, grow or decline. The Hatfield study found modular systems of some size in eight universities (Aberdeen, East Anglia, Lancaster, London, Open, Southamption, Stirling and Ulster), out of a total of 47 universities. These findings are confirmed by the more recent Nuffield study which has also found plans for modular developments in two more. Several comments can be made. First, the extent to which modularisation is fully implemented varies greatly within London University, with for example Queen Mary College operating a fairly complete system and Imperial College still pursuing mainly specialised degrees. The apparent potential for flexibility and student choice which the system gives is often in practice limited by timetabling, special prerequisites for courses, and perhaps the influence of faculty on students. Secondly, modular systems seem to have been more quickly adopted in science faculties (e.g. Southampton and East Anglia) than in the Humanities or Social Sciences.

As long as the system remains less than university-wide, its full advantages as regards breadth, or individually tailored combinations of courses cannot be realised. Thirdly, it should be pointed out that the Scottish universities have always had a form of unit/credit system, though with many local variations.

According to the Hatfield study, the trend towards modularisation is somewhat stronger in the polytechnics; they report that a majority of polytechnics are working on proposals for modular degrees to be submitted to the Council for National Academic Awards, and list ten polytechnics (out of 30) where schemes of some sort are already in operation. The attitude of the CNAA to these proposed schemes will be crucial. The Council modified its initial memorandum on courses leading to the award of first degrees (Statement No.3, 1965) to take account of modular schemes (Revised Regulations for the Award of the Council's First Degrees, June 1971) but has recently expressed, though not officially, some reservations about these schemes.

The Council's ambivalence about modular schemes may be seen in the light of the basic typology we have suggested. The advantages of modular systems as a way of rationalising polytechnic education, so that the polytechnics can respond to the varied demands placed on them, are clear. Such schemes, seen as an educationally neutral device, a form of standard academic organisation, allow the polytechnics to run courses leading to different awards, mean that part-time and full-time students can be accommodated equally, and hold out the promise of reduced costs through "shared" modules, i.e. modules taken in common by students pursuing different programmes. In short, they may enable the polytechnics to be multi-functional and cost-effective.

However, there are others who believe that modular schemes are not educationally neutral, and that they imply in themselves discontinuity, breadth as against depth, and explicitness in course design as against implicitness. They furthermore make teaching a much more public activity than it has typically been, in the sense that faculty now have to put down on paper for their colleagues details about their teaching which otherwise would have remained between them and their students.

Proponents of modular schemes admit the possible implications and difficulties that may accompany such developments, but believe that they can be overcome with foresight, or are in any case sceptical about the claims made for specialised holistic programmes.

In the long run it may be economic and organisational factors which count for more than strictly educational ones. Modular schemes hold out the possibility of the rationalisation of resources in a number of ways within institutions. The authors of the Hatfield study suggested that a 10 per cent saving may be possible through having "shared" modules. In addition, modules offer advantages across institutions which will be explored in the next section.

VI. THE AGGREGATIVE MODEL : CREDITS

The traditional mode of assessment or credentialling in the British university has several characteristics worth noting. First, it issues in a single measure, the classified degree, however many different measures contribute to it. Secondly, it is not an exaggeration to say that the manner of arriving at this single measure has been variable from one subject to another, one department to another, one institution to another, and often, for the student, shrouded in mystery. Thirdly, the assessment is largely based on unseen written examinations, usually three hours in length. And lastly, these examinations tend to occur at the end of the programme, or at least the year of study, and there are usually strict rules regarding the maximum length of time during which a student may "re-sit" if he fails. Significantly, a student often has to re-sit all his examinations again even if he only fails one paper. There is very little feedback to the student as to why he succeeds or fails, particularly in the case of "finals".

This pattern has been modified in most universities in recent years, although it is still probably the dominant one, particularly in Oxford and Cambridge. However, a certain amount of continuous or course work assessment has been introduced, particularly in the newer universities, with long essays and dissertations in the arts and social sciences, and projects in the sciences and technology. Owing to student demands, the process of assessment has become somewhat more explicit and rationalised, and the Nuffield survey has found interesting experiments going on in a variety of departments.

The introduction of modular schemes modifies the traditional pattern of assessment still further. Instead of being annual or final (at the end of three years) assessment is now usually carried out during or immediately after the module has been completed. There appears to be a greater variety of modes of assessment, with a corresponding problem of comparability and cross-moderation. The credits from each module can be aggregated in a number of ways, either by simple addition, or by selecting (say) the eight best out of nine, or by weighting them in favour of higher level modules and third or fourth year studies. The problem of conflating all these credits to produce a single measure still remains, but at least the institutions are aware of the problem, and some, like the Open University, have complex ways of handling it.

This move away from the conventional system of examinations has been paralleled in the polytechnics, and this must be partly due to the guidance given by the CNAA on such matters. In the Council's Notes on the subject (1973) the emphasis is on an appropriate balance of different modes:

> "The Council hopes that in devising schemes of assessment Colleges will seek as far as possible to use a variety of forms of assessment, and will keep in view the dangers of distorting the educational purposes of a course by overburdening students, either with an excessive number of formal written examinations or with an unduly oppressive system of continuous assessment of coursework. It may well be that some subjects are best assessed only through coursework assignments, without any formal examination....
>
> On the whole the Council feels that it is preferable to adopt a discriminating approach to the use of coursework assessment, so that in general it would not expect to see at this stage schemes in which coursework assessment counts for more than 40 per cent of the overall total...."(16)

The Council is also open to innovations in the presentation of assessment:

> "While schemes of assessment have conventionally been based on the use of percentage scales, the Council is prepared to approve schemes based on other methods, provided they

> have been fully considered by the College and their feasibility can be demonstrated. Such methods might include, for example, the formulation of profiles for each student based on his development over a period of time and on different types of attainment, and the wider use of a pass/fail system for the assessment of coursework, which would reduce some of the stress imposed by methods of continuous assessment.
>
> Whatever methods are developed, it is of course essential that students themselves should be fully aware of what is involved."(16)

It is also worth noting the interest of the National Union of Students in profile assessment, and their publication recently of a report on it.(17)

In the context of this paper, these changes are significant in several ways. The first and most obvious point is that they begin to establish the course credit as the basic unit of academic currency. True, in most cases, credits are still seen simply as a means of arriving at a degree or some other award, but the fact remains that they have and are seen to have an autonomous existence, based on the related course, which the old "papers" never had in the conventional scheme. Passing three out of five papers usually only meant that one had to take all five again; gaining three credits means that there are only two more to go. Along with the establishment of the credit goes a greater explicitness about the whole process of measurement and assessment.

Secondly, the credit system opens up the possibility of credit exemptions and credit transfers. Traditionally, universities have given, somewhat grudgingly, exemptions for previous work in other institutions of which they approved, but this was rarely a formal policy, and in any case, it is so difficult to transfer from one British university to another that such cases were rare. Now, however, the Open University lays down quite explicitly its rule for granting credit exemptions in its Prospectus, indicating that exemptions can be given, for example, to certificated teachers or students with Higher National Diploma or Higher National Certificate awards. The general policy on credit transfer and exemptions is stated quite clearly:

> "We wish to encourage holders of non-degree qualifications of recognised status to proceed to a first degree of the Open University. There is a multiplicity of professional and non-graduate qualifications available in the United Kingdom; there is often no transferability of credit either between them, or between any one of them and the undergraduate degree requirements of conventional universities.

> As a national institution, we hope by the award of general credit exemptions to act as a catalyst for a general increase in the transferability of credit.
>
> It is the general intention that successful completion of approved courses of one year's full-time study (or its equivalent) at a university or other institute of higher education, or of similar approved courses sponsored by professional institutions, should count for the award of one credit."(18)

A general pattern of credit exemption and transfer thus seems to be the long-term aim of the Open University. However, one of the main difficulties standing in the way of this is precisely the holistic model which is still strong in the universities. As long as the three or four year study is seen as something indivisible, something which cannot be sub-divided into courses, transfer of credit for such courses is wellnigh impossible to arrange. Thus the development of credit transfer may depend primarily on the development of modular course systems which, it has been suggested, seems more likely to come about in the polytechnics and colleges of education than in the universities.

In the event, the initiative of the Open University in this matter has not met with much reciprocal action on the part of other institutions. Apart from agreements with one or two universities, whereby Open University foundation year credits can stand in lieu of first year courses (e.g. the two-term preliminary courses at Sussex) the universities seem generally uninterested in promoting such arrangements at present. And the autonomy of the British universities means that the Open University would have to enter into bilateral negotiations with each of the 46 other universities on this matter. Many university charters in any case stipulate a minimum period of residence at the university (often six out of nine terms) for a degree to be awarded. The Open University itself requires that 50 per cent of course credits in any degree awarded by it must be Open University credits. (Up to three credit exemptions out of six are allowed). The situation may be altered if current disparities in enrolment trends continue or grow. At present, while the universities in general are experiencing a falling-off in applications, the Open University is recording a substantial increase. To some universities, the prospect of the Open University acting as a "feeder" institution (especially in the natural sciences) whereby students having begun their studies at the Open University could transfer to full-time study elsewhere, may be an incentive to open up more possibilities of transfer. However, it is highly unlikely that the Open University would want to see itself transformed into an essentially sub-degree level institution.

There is one further point worth making about the Open University's system of exemptions. As well as allowing up to three exemptions for previous study in other institutions, the Open University allows credits for its own post-experience courses. (These are recently instituted courses of a professional/vocational nature, lasting between eight weeks and a year part-time, designed for students who want to enrol for a particular course, rather than becoming full undergraduates). It is possible for a student to take such courses before enrolling for a degree, thus in effect taking some second-level courses out of sequence, i.e. before the Foundation courses. At present all Open University undergraduates must take at least one Foundation course, which is of a fairly broad nature. It seems that it is the existence of the Foundation course requirement which stands in the way of the Open University adopting a purely aggregative model, i.e. a totally free-choice accumulation of credits.

The move towards a credit system raises two more questions which are important for the idea of continuing education. The first concerns the duration of study. Implicit in the holistic model is the idea that studies should be concentrated and consecutive. University first degrees take either three or four years, with no gaps in between. This has been slightly modified recently; some universities now allow students to take a year "out" if they particularly want to, and the CNAA appears to be thinking of six or seven years as the maximum allowable duration. The Hatfield report envisages about the same maximum. The Open University places no limit at all on the duration of study, and is quite happy for students to adopt an intermittent pattern of study of the kind advocated by Halsey.(19)

Even these relatively small changes do mark a movement towards the idea of continuing education, although by continental or American standards they are still minor. However, once the assumptions of the holistic model are questioned (that studies must be concentrated - a kind of big-bang theory) there seems no logical reason why a person should not spend ten or even fifteen years collecting the credits necessary for a degree. It may be argued that it is easier that way; but one may ask whether the peculiar difficulty of concentrated studies is a significant one. Clearly, it is more difficult to take six credits in one year than in six years, but what is the nature of that difficulty? The old Bardic schools in the middle ages required their students to compose intricate metres lying in troughs of cold water with stones on their chests. This seems absurd to us now but it may be equally absurd to ask someone to tackle eight different examination papers within the space of a week, under rather arbitrary time constraints.

This raises what is perhaps a more fundamental question: What is the nature of an award like a degree or diploma? Under a course credit system, a student might study for two years and gain a Dip. H.E., study a further year and gain a B.A. (Pass), and then another year and gain a B.A. (Hons). Or he could simply study one year and gain, say, eight credits, and perhaps a special Polytechnic certificate. This would be quite impossible under the holistic model which is an all-or-nothing affair; students can leave university after two years' study with no award whatsoever.

The meaning of a credit seems clear enough; it refers to the mastery of a fairly explicit amount of material in a given time. It is a specific credential. Degrees, and to a lesser extent, diplomas are non-specific credentials; even though they may refer to a particular discipline (and there is no guarantee in a complete modular system that they would) they are often treated as a totally abstracted measure of general ability, e.g. "a first-class mind". Many employers simply demand a degree, and care little whether it is in classics or chemistry.

In fact the whole concept of non-specific credentials is a confused one. The original medieval notion of a licence to practice is still relevant in the case of professionally-orientated degrees such as engineering, medicine and law. There is an element of safeguarding the public in these instances. With non-professional subjects, degrees seem to be seen sometimes as an entry to academic life, sometimes as a general measure of ability, and sometimes as a (doubtful) predictor of future achievement.

There is not time here to probe these various confusions, except to note that the use of such non-specific credentials may in the long run be self-devaluing in employment terms, as the proportion of those who hold them increases. This aspect of credentialling has been examined critically by Michael Marien, (20) with regard to higher education. On the other hand, there still seems to be considerable student pressure (and pressure on students) in favour of accredited, as against non-credited study. The implications for continuous education are not clear, but there are several possibilities. One is that students may tend more and more to collect specific credits in relation to specific job or life needs, and bother less about general awards. There are already signs that some students are using the Open University to do just this. It is also possible that employers will place less faith in non-specific credentials such as a degree (unless it is clearly related to their needs) and become more interested in a pattern of intermittent work and training. A combination of both these trends would lead to the decline in the importance of non-specific credentials like degrees and diplomas. However, this idea is still very radical, and was considered unlikely to come about in the near future by anyone interviewed for this study. Even if a non-specific credential "means" very little, it provides a means of simplifying selection decisions for employers. Also, both the polytechnics and the universities still think primarily of themselves as award-granting institutions rather than, say, concentrations of learning resources available to the community. The United Kingdom system of educational grants is also tied closely to the gaining of awards, as are the formal conditions for employment and promotion in some kinds of job. And there remains, when all is said and done, a slightly mystical aura about a university degree.

However, even if non-specific credentials continue to dominate the scene, the introduction of credit systems now means that types of continuing or adult study which previously were strictly non-credentialled can now come within the domain of educational currency and credit. The sharp distinction between higher education (always for awards) and adult education (never for awards) is blurred by the intermediate currency of the course credit.

VII. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

There are three other kinds of innovation in British higher education which may have implications for the adult domain. Of necessity, they can only be dealt with very briefly here.

The first and most obvious change, namely changes in admissions policies, is perhaps the least important. Apart from the Open University, which admits anyone over 21, on a first-come first-served basis weighted by occupation and region, universities and polytechnics still demand minimum entry requirements (usually two A levels) and still recruit their students mainly straight from secondary education. Even at universities which have an explicit policy favouring "mature students", the proportion of these remains small: at Sussex it is only 14.1 per cent. Formal education remains very much a consecutive phenomenon, apart from long-standing exceptions such as Ruskin College, Oxford, and Birkbeck College, London.

A second change, again associated mainly with the Open University, may be of more far-reaching significance. This is the use of mediated teaching which depends heavily on specially-designed learning materials in print, film, audio or televised form. A good deal of rhetoric and false promise has surrounded the use of media in education generally. The initial heavy investment in media by the University Grants Committee, following the Brynmor Jones report in 1965(21), which recommended a number of "high-activity centres" in universities has shown rather limited benefits. Expensive television installations tend to be underutilised. In addition, rather exaggerated hopes and fears were generated that somehow a new educational technology was taking over from the classroom teacher or lecturer.

The longer-term significance of mediated teaching may lie more in its effect on the student than its effect on the teacher. For the student, it can break the set of mental dependence on the teacher; he discovers, or rediscovers that, given resources and support, he can learn on his own or in the company of his peers; that he can learn without always having to have someone in front of him to teach him. It is true that sometimes the dependence on the teacher is broken only to be replaced by an equally strict dependence on programmed materials, and that the student is not encouraged to develop the capacity to organise his own learning, his educational autonomy. And likewise it is true that some subjects, and some students need careful personal tuition over quite long periods of time. Nevertheless, it is possible that the advent of courses based largely on well-prepared learning materials may both popularise the notion of learning resources (a notion already familiar to the adult autodidact) and develop a kind of learning autonomy which is to some extent stifled by the pattern of secondary teaching.

So far, materials-based courses are still primarily the preserve of the Open University. However, a number of inter-institutional curriculum projects funded by the Nuffield Foundation (in Biology, Physics, and Engineering) are also developing materials which can be used in courses in a number of universities and polytechnics. Open University materials are already used as a resource in some courses elsewhere. To a more limited extent, educational technology centres in a number of institutions have developed learning materials for local use. The National Council for Educational Technology helps to catalogue and encourage such developments.

The idea of the autonomous learner is central to the concept of adult education. Tough(22) has shown just to what extent self-organised learning goes on, relatively unnoticed, among the adult population, outside institutional frameworks. The development of learning materials and resources may, in the long term, have the effect of weakening the existing sharp distinction between formal and informal study. Already, the Open University is the largest educational publishing concern in the United Kingdom and its materials are available for sale on the open market, whether one enrols for its courses or not.

The third development which may have some significance for adult education is extremely complex. This is the development of non-disciplinary bases for courses in higher education.(23) The potential significance of these for this study lies not so much in the advent of interdisciplinary studies, as in the questioning of the "minima" of study associated with conventional disciplines. For example, it is often roundly asserted by university lecturers that no one can possibly learn Economics or English or Physics in less than three years. The common argument against including new options or broader courses is time: it is said that almost all of the three year period needs to be devoted to the main subject, whatever that is. This argument of "minimum mass" or "minimum duration" can be supported with some conviction in the case of professionally-orientated courses like medicine and engineering (where the degree still has a connotation of a licence to practise) but becomes much more difficult to sustain with other subjects. In any case, it would be a remarkable coincidence that all disciplines required exactly three years to be understood adequately, instead of some two, some three and some four. The argument seems to be based on the standards of professional associations of specialists, rather than anything intrinsic in the disciplines. Time is an important qualification for entry to all professional or hieratic groups; it ensures perhaps a degree of socialisation in the norms of the group as well as minimum levels of competency.

With new, and less well-established areas of study it becomes very difficult to determine what that minimum should be. Not surprisingly, new degree programmes like European Studies and Environmental Sciences tend to fall naturally into the three-year pattern. However, the advent of modular systems means that new "subjects" can be the object of short courses, rather than complete three-year programmes. Usually these courses are theme- or problem-based, and deal with subjects like Urbanisation, Economic Development, or Risk - subjects which do not fall neatly into the existing disciplinary categories. The point is not that these new topics are necessarily more restricted in scope, and therefore demand less time, than a full-blown discipline. What they do demonstrate is that it is possible to teach the same "subject" to varying depths and extents: Urbanisation could either be a one-term course, or a three-year programme. Clearly, the second would have much greater scope and depth and sophistication, but it is only a short step from this to saying that something of any conventional three-year programme can also be taught (in reduced form) in a one-term course of an "introductory" or "overview" or "limited" nature.

This can be seen as another dimension of the holistic/aggregative change. Traditionally, the three-year study of, say, Classics was seen as an indivisible, and therefore irreducible, whole. Since it was irreducible (i.e. since nothing useful about Classics could be learned in less than three full years) the pattern of specialisation was sustained. However, if it is once argued that disciplines are not seamless wholes, that they can be subdivided in various ways, and that one can study something of them without studying everything of them, then the way lies open to the introduction of a smaller, and therefore more flexible unit of academic currency, namely, the course.

This change may be coming about as a quite unintended side-effect of the development of interdisciplinary courses. While some interdisciplinary courses achieve integration through a direct cross-fertilisation between disciplines (of concepts, paradigms, and methods) others use the extrinsic focus of a problem (like crime) or theme (like energy) or area (like Europe). In these latter cases, the extrinsic focus assumes the status of a "subject" or a "course" and thus courses on a non-disciplinary basis find their way into the curriculum. Co-existing with the monolithic, conventional disciplines, they point not only to alternative foci of study, but alternative scales or depths. In this way, the pattern of minimum mass or duration of study comes into question. The net effect must be to reinforce the movement away from conceiving higher education as an indivisible and irreducible whole consisting of three years' study of one discipline, towards seeing it as an aggregative or cumulative process, based on a network of self-contained courses.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

It is one thing to identify the direction of a change, and quite another to estimate its speed and force. While the experience of the current Nuffield project and the selected interviews carried out in relation to this study suggest that there is an overall movement in the direction of an aggregative model, it would be unwise to try and guess the force of the change. This must depend on many other factors "external" to the educational system: not only the general economic climate of the United Kingdom, which at present looms large in educational policy, but more specific trends in graduate employment, student grant aid patterns, local government reorganisation, and so on. The implications of the Russell report on adult education will also be a factor, as will the reorganisation of the colleges of education subsequent to the James report.

However, it may be useful to speculate about "internal" factors which may affect a change of this kind, and about some of the questions raised by it. By "internal" here we mean those factors which could reasonably be called "educational".

The first point to be made is that knowledge structures are also, to some extent, social structures. There are no disciplines which are not taught, hence any change in the concept of a discipline will affect those who are professionally involved with it, and the organisational structures which embody it. Insofar as a move from a specialised discipline-based higher education to a course-based higher education takes place, it will come up against the natural tendency for people to cling to familiar roles and for institutions to avoid disturbing well-established structures. The statement "I am an economist" is a statement both of activity and identity; the statement "I teach a course on monetary theory" suggests a more fluid and oblique relationship between activity and identity. Moreover, whereas "discipline" suggests a body of knowledge which exists whether anyone is teaching it or not, in the abstract so to speak, "course" is indubitably concrete: it refers to a specific time and place, and specific people. This can be seen as a shift in the sociological process of definition: whereas the discipline is defined mainly by the guild of professionals, the course implies a process of negotiated definition, involving not only the "professionals" but also the institution and the students. The implications of all this are that the concept of a course implies a weakening of professional identity and may therefore be resisted on those grounds as well as on purely educational grounds.

The move from discipline to course also suggests an epistemological shift, towards what one might call a "situationist" view of knowledge. Without getting embroiled in the ancient realist/nominalist controversy on the nature of knowledge, we can note that the concept of discipline, which tends towards "realism" in the debate, has tended to produce a specific and generally stable form of academic structure, in the form of departments and faculties. Thus the academic structure of the institution could be seen as parallelling the structures of knowledge in the "real" world. Since a course-based approach implies a less fixed view of the nature of knowledge, it follows that this may produce a correspondingly fluid form of academic structure; or, to put it another way, the structure may be seen as "neutral", in that it does not favour or hinder any particular configuration of knowledge. Thus, advocates of course unit structures are right to claim that their structure is "neutral" in this sense, and does not preclude any kind of degree programme, including the conventional specialised one; but this is still a significant change, since it means that the academic structure no longer reinforces and reflects a particular view of knowledge, as has been the case with a departmental/faculty structure with their well-defined boundaries in the past. Again, the implications of this seem to be that since it does involve another quite profound change, this time on an epistemological level, it may be slow to come about. Adult education has typically been "situationist" in this sense, ever since it began, because it was usually responding to needs identified in a particular social situation, whether illiteracy, or basic scientific knowledge, or professional know-how, or leisure arts. The contrast with the formal academic structures of the universities with their well-defined epistemology could hardly be greater.

The prospect of greater interaction between the higher and adult domains which the aggregative model suggests, also raises some very basic questions about the relationship between the various sectors of the educational system. It is sometimes forgotten that the universities are by far the oldest part of the educational system in European countries; they pre-date public elementary and secondary education by centuries. Thus while the division of education into pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary might suggest that each sector grew naturally out of the one before, in fact the system has to some extent evolved in a "top-down" fashion, with postgraduate education strongly affecting undergraduate, which in turn affects secondary, which in turn influences the primary level. And this, notwithstanding the fact that the proportion of students moving from one sector to the next one up has often been a minority. This kind of contradiction is expressed by the choice between the terms "higher" or "tertiary"; the latter suggests a natural evolution from secondary, whereas the former suggests a form of education, which through its intrinsic standards and value, can to some extent determine what happens at secondary level. Or, to put it a different way, the notion of "mass" education implies not only that more students should be involved in each level, but that the nature of the education at each level should be geared towards the "average" student, rather than the "best" student (who would go on to the next level up).

However the tension between an "evolutionary" view of the educational system and a "top-down" one is now being superseded by an even more basic question, which has to do with the idea of "lifelong" or "adult" or "continuing" or "permanent" or "intermittent" education. There is not room here to explore the reasons for this current interest. Partly, it must reflect the high rate of culture change in our societies which partially invalidates the idea of education as a preparation for either work or life. Partly it may arise from doubts about the socialising effects of full-time schooling in the early years of life; doubts, particularly, about whether being defined simply as a "learner" as one's main role in life for such a long period can be healthy. Partly it may be related to disillusion with the ability of formal educational systems to increase upward social mobility.

The promise of adult or intermittent education in this context is of a flexible, open-ended pattern of study which can respond situationally to needs as they are defined; not so much a formal system as a network of facilities. As noted earlier, this pattern has until recently in the United Kingdom been strictly not-for-credit; it has been essentially classifiable as "leisure", rather than "work" or "education". The significance of an aggregative model is that this previously leisure activity may take on some of the characteristics of formal education (e.g. credentialling), while retaining the course-based structure which it has always had, and which, it could be argued, is its main contemporary form of influence on the formal system.

While this possibility remains rather vague, or small-scale, it is likely to be generally welcomed. However, in the longer term, it seems likely that it will come into conflict with the formal system in several ways. The first is for students, and it is perhaps not unimportant that, as mentioned above, the Open University is recording an increase in applications at a time when other universities and polytechnics are experiencing a falling-off. Students who drop out of conventional universities now have a way back into the system through the Open University, whereas before it was extremely difficult to get back in, once having dropped out: an aspect of what has been called a "radical monopoly".

Secondly, the higher and adult domains may come into conflict over the question of student grants. The adult sector is unlikely to develop much until adequate grant support is available, and at present most of the grants are "tied" to particular formal institutions, which control their own terms of entry.

Thirdly, the style of the adult domain, with its "situationalist" approach, and minimal emphasis on the institutional framework, may be perceived as an implicit critique of the formal system, although the evidence cited in this report shows that the formal system of higher education is capable of innovating (if slowly) both in matters of curriculum and structure, and thus containing such a critique.

The implications for those who study education seem to be that, unless we can envisage endless growth and available resources, studies of innovation must be complemented by studies of its opposite, attrition. In a situation where culture change remains rapid, and yet resources limited, it becomes as important to know how to terminate things as to begin them; how to close down a department as well as how to start one; and so on. To some extent, innovation and attrition comes about in response to the demands placed on the educational system by its students and other clientele, but just as specialists hope to facilitate the process of innovation by studying it, so the process of terminating activities and institutions which have outlived their usefulness might be eased and made less painful by some study of the factors involved.

Two other points may be made in conclusion. The aggregative model is far more widespread in some other countries - notably the United States - than in the United Kingdom. Thus, in international terms, it would hardly qualify as a major innovation: American universities have been using course credit systems ever since the introduction of the Harvard elective scheme. What may prove to be a major innovation is the potent combination of this American invention with a more recent British one, namely the Open University, with its decentralised pattern of teaching. It could become very difficult to define a boundary between higher and adult education if a network of course-credit schemes, using the kinds of resources which the Open University now uses, grew up. However, such growth would depend partly on educational policy decisions regarding financial support for the adult sector.

Finally, we must return to the fact that the "holistic/aggregative" typology introduced in Section III is a simplified one. Changes are not likely to be clear cut. Also, within the holistic model, particularly in its Oxbridge form, there are elements which may respond to contemporary adult needs just as much as the aggregative model with its flexibility and rationality; namely, the need for a learning community, the ancient collegiate ideal, and the emphasis on person-to-person relationships in the learning process. To the extent that the aggregative model seems apt to meet our public needs for fluidity and relevance, the holistic model may respond to more personal needs relating to the sense of identity in a modern community.

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INTERVIEWS

I am very grateful to the following who agreed to be interviewed as part of this study:

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IV

FOSTERING SELF-PLANNED LEARNING

by
Allen Tough

HOW EXTENSIVE IS SELF-PLANNED LEARNING?

In recent years, several research projects in various regions have focused on the phenomenon of self-planned learning. These studies have found that about two-thirds of all major learning efforts are self-planned.

The remainder can be divided into three types. In about 12 per cent, the detailed planning from one session to the next is the responsibility of a group or of its leader or instructor. The learner decides to attend a face-to-face group, and to let the group (especially its leader or instructor) determine what and how he learns during each session. The group could also be a group of peers who decide and conduct their activities without a professional instructor or authority. Or the group could be a class discussion group, workshop, or other group led by a trained leader or instructor. A large portion of the knowledge and skill will typically be provided by the group or its instructor during the group's sessions. The group may be of any size from five persons to several hundred.

About 8 per cent of the person's learning projects are planned by another person who interacts with the learner in a one-to-one situation. The interaction may be face-to-face, by mail, or by telephone. The planner might be a professional instructor, consultant, counsellor, athlete, doctor, or lawyer. He might be a friend, neighbour, relative or colleague.

In only about 3 per cent of his learning efforts does the learner follow the sequence of detailed subject matter and activities provided by some object. This non-human resource might be a programmed instruction book, a workbook, a set of tape recordings in a language lab, or a series of television programmes. The learner turns over the planning responsibility to the object (or, in a sense, to the person who earlier created the object). The plans reside in the object: it provides the decisions and sequence. The set of materials or series of programmes will direct the learner's activities and the content during most of his learning episodes. Generally, the object will provide much of the subject matter in addition to directing the learning project.

The remainder of learning efforts do not fall neatly into any one type of planner. They rely on mixed planning instead of a single dominant planner.

In any given year, almost everyone undertakes at least one or two major self-planned learning efforts. Some individuals undertake as many as 15 or 20. The typical person conducts five or six major self-planned learning efforts each year, involving five or six distinct areas of knowledge and skill. The person spends about 500 or 600 hours at this learning. Some persons spend less than 100 hours, but others spend more than 2,000 hours in self-planned episodes in which the person's intent to learn or change is clearly the primary motivation.

These figures are higher than the figures in earlier surveys of adult learning and adult education. Several factors account for the differences. The recent studies used extensive probing by interviewers who were thoroughly familiar with the study's purposes and definitions; as a result, they were more successful than other studies at helping people recall self-planned learning efforts. Also, they interviewed the learner himself, not someone else in his household. In addition, the recent definition of a major learning effort ("a learning project") differs somewhat from the phenomenon on which certain earlier studies focused; (see Tough, 1971, Chapter 2).

Less than 1 per cent of all learning projects are undertaken for credit, which includes credit toward some degree or certificate or diploma, toward passing a test or examination, toward completing an assignment for a course or producing a thesis, toward some licence or a driving test, or toward some requirement or examination or upgrading related to a job. This low figure, repeated in study after study, has major implications for educators. At the same time, one must realise the actual number of persons taking courses for credit is fairly impressive, even though the percentage is not.

In one survey, in a supplementary analysis, it was determined how many learning projects were professionally planned, rather than planned by the learner himself or by some amateur planner. To be more precise, we were interested in the proportion of projects planned by a paid person (or a person who was doing this as part of his job or responsibility as a volunteer in some agency), sponsored by an institution, or pursued for credit. Only one-fifth (19 per cent) of the 538 projects fell into this category (Tough, 1971). The other 81 per cent were planned by the learner himself, by a friend or relative, or by a group of peers unrelated to an institution.

Also, it is interesting to note the relatively small number of projects in which the learner had little influence on the detailed procedures and content. In these projects the planner did not seriously take into account the characteristics, needs, problems and questions of each particular learner. Even if all projects planned by a group (or its leader or instructor) or a non-human resource fit here, the total is still only 16 per cent of all projects (Tough, 1971). A very high proportion (84 per cent) of learning projects are marked by individualised planning. That is, the planning is designed with a particular learner in mind.

This profile of self-planned learning is based on surveys of a wide range of populations in three different countries. Although the populations and regions are marked by diversity, the studies themselves have produced remarkably consistent findings. The original 1970 survey was reported in "The Adult's Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning" (Tough, 1971). The basic survey data were collected from seven different populations in two cities in Canada. These populations were blue-collar factory workers, women and men in jobs at the lower end of the white-collar scale, beginning elementary-school teachers, municipal politicians, social-science professors, and upper-middle-class women with pre-school children.

Since then, several researchers have conducted surveys in various regions. David Armstrong (1971) interviewed unemployed adults in a retraining programme in Toronto, Canada. Maria Brown (1972) interviewed members of a union of public employees in Vancouver, Canada. Pat Coolican (1973) interviewed suburban housewives in Syracuse, U.S.A. Lary Denys (1973) and I travelled to West Africa to interview secondary-school teachers, bankers, and department-store executives in Accra, Ghana. Jim Fair (1973) studied elementary school teachers in one city and one rural area in Ontario, Canada. Ned Johnson (1973) studied adults who had just completed their high school examinations in Fort Lauderdale, U.S.A. Bill Johns (1973) studied pharmacists in Atlanta, U.S.A. Cressy McCatty (1973) surveyed professional men in North York, Canada. With a grant from the Tennessee Valley Authority, John Peters and Susan Gordon (1974) conducted a large survey of urban and rural residents in the State of Tennessee, U.S.A.

It is clear that the phenomenon of self-planned learning occurs extensively among both men and women, in both rural and urban populations, in a variety of geographical regions, and in people of diverse age and socio-economic status and occupation.

Most of these studies have focused on adults over the age of 18 or 21. In addition, though, 10-year-old children and 16-year-old adolescents were interviewed. Because they were attending school or college as full-time students they were interviewed only about their non-credit learning efforts outside of that educational institution.

They reported a great deal of out-of-school learning, with patterns of learning that were fairly similar to adult learning.

However, several differences between the learning efforts of 10-year-olds and of adults emerged from the interviews. First, a child learns a far greater variety of knowledge and skill than the adult. This occurs partly because the adult no longer needs to learn anything further on certain topics, and partly because he has become more selective in his areas of interest. The child, in contrast, has a great deal to learn, and has interests that are scattered rather than focused.

Second, most of the child's learning episodes are relatively short. The child asks a few questions or reflects briefly when his interest is aroused by some remark or phenomenon. Or he reads about some topic for 15 minutes, or watches a 30-minute television programme. His learning episodes are rarely longer than one hour, except when taking part in some sort of visit or expedition, or perhaps when practising a sport.

Third, many other episodes result in a great deal of actual knowledge and skill, but the intent to learn is not especially strong. The 10-year-old tends to choose an activity, hobby, or sport because it will be interesting or fun, not consciously because it will produce certain knowledge and skill or help him become a better person. Perhaps he simply does not think often about the future, and has no thought of how he will change during the next few months or years.

Several of these characteristics of the 10-year-olds are also typical of the out-of-school learning of younger children. By the time a person reaches the age of 16, though, some clear changes have occurred. During his hours away from school and homework, the 16-year-old spends far more time at sustained learning efforts than he did at an earlier age. These efforts are marked more clearly and strongly by the intent to learn. Also, he learns more often in order to handle effectively his new responsibilities and the major problems and decisions that are not faced by a 10-year-old. In many ways the 16-year-old is closer to the adult than he is to the 10-year-old, although much of his learning continues to be devoted to athletic skills, musical instruments, and topics of general interest about which he is curious.

Some clues about new roles for school teachers emerged from interviewing the 10-year-olds. Their out-of-school ("non-credit") learning was often influenced by their teachers. Many learning projects, especially for the girls, grew out of an activity or topic at school, or a question or book suggested by the teacher. The interview has also suggested that schools can help the child develop the wide range of learning skills and the familiarity with various resources that are necessary for effective self-planned learning. It also became evident in the interviews that the human and physical environment, at home and school, has an enormous impact on the 10-year-old's learning.

Learning projects by members of a society are a means to a better future for that society. When politicians, corporation presidents, and heads of state spend some time learning before making major decisions, their decisions are more likely to be sound. The learning efforts of researchers, journalists, parents, artists, and teachers are clearly important to a society.

Continuing learning is itself becoming a goal of human life. In advanced nations, more and more men and women are moving beyond material goals, as their lower-order needs such as food are satisfied relatively easily. They are setting a new goal for themselves: self-actualisation, the realisation of their enormous potential. They are seeking the higher joys of gaining new knowledge and skills, of achieving better self-understanding, of learning to interact more sensitively and honestly with others. The incredible expansion of human growth centres and other means of maximising human potential is one sign of this shift, as well as the multitude of opportunities for spiritual growth and experience.

WHAT PEOPLE LEARN

This paper encompasses all of the person's learning projects, regardless of what he is trying to learn, why, how, and where. Because we are interested in obtaining a complete picture of the person's total learning effort, we do not restrict our focus to certain methods or places of learning, certain reasons for learning, or certain subject matter.

Sometimes the person sets out to gain certain knowledge and skill because it will be highly useful in the very near future. At other times he or she simply wants to possess the knowledge and skill for its own sake, perhaps to have a broad understanding of the world around him or her. Occasionally the main reason for a learning project is the desire for credit toward some degree or certificate. Our approach includes all of the reasons for learning and deals with both vocational training and the liberal arts - practical training, and learning for its own sake.

Adults and youth learn a wide range of knowledge and skill. Individuals may set out to increase their own self-understanding and self-acceptance, or may simply want to learn how to refinish a coffee table. They may want to learn about some area of history, philosophy, economics, current affairs, natural science, or social science. They may want to gain more knowledge before making an important decision on the job, or about their own financial affairs. They may learn to play a musical instrument, or to play golf or bridge. They may want to increase their skill in teaching, raising children, supervising, or in some other major task. They may learn in order to plan a trip, buy an appliance, operate a ham radio, deal more effectively with people, or develop a philosophy of life.

Some efforts to learn are relatively brief or superficial. Learning about washing machines in order to buy the best model, for example, hardly seems to involve fundamental changes in personality or behaviour. Other learning efforts are aimed at changing one's self-concept, perception and understanding of others, deep feelings, or creativity. Some efforts are aimed at modifying overt behaviour, such as a habit, an addiction pattern, or a shoplifting tendency. Some learning projects are primarily cognitive or intellectual, some are aimed primarily at attitudinal and emotional change, some are designed to develop physical skills, and many are a mixture.

WHY PEOPLE LEARN

A number of studies in several Western countries have shown that some anticipated use or application of the knowledge and skill is the strongest motivation for the majority of learning efforts. Most adults and out-of-school youth, in most learning efforts, are motivated by some fairly immediate problem, task, or decision that demands certain knowledge and skill. In relatively few learning projects is the person interested in mastering an entire body of subject matter.

An Emphasis on Use and Application

In the United Kingdom, Robinson (1965) found that most adult learning arises from the personal, practical needs of everyday life, not from some intellectual curiosity about an academic body of knowledge. Most people "do not at some stage decide that they would like to know more about economics or psychology: they are concerned about how much it will cost them to redecorate their homes or why their children behave in the way they do. These interests might well lead them quite far into economics and psychology, but they will start with concerns of a personal kind".

In France, a survey conducted by Dumazedier (1967) also found an emphasis on practical and technical knowledge: "The preferred topics are connected to utilitarian preoccupations, answering a need for information about matters affecting daily life".

In Canada, a study of 35 learning projects found that the desire to use or apply the knowledge and skill was the strongest motivation in 71 per cent of the projects and was present in every other project (Tough, 1968). In many learning projects, this reason was even stronger for continuing than for beginning. Apparently some learners, as they proceed with a project, discover some unexpected uses for the knowledge and skill.

With children, too, the desire to achieve some action goal may be an especially strong motivation for learning. Holt (1967) has suggested that "if we begin by helping children feel that reading and writing are ways of talking to and reaching other people, we will not have to bribe and bully them into acquiring the skills; they will want them for what they can do with them".

Adult education programmes tend to be subject-centred. Their usual purpose is to present an entire body of subject matter or a complete set of skills. Usually, though, this is not what the adult wants and needs. She or he starts with an immediate problem or task, and wants immediate help with it.

Curiosity and Puzzlement

Some of the person's efforts to learn are triggered by curiosity or puzzlement. But again, there is a wide gap sometimes between the person's motivation and the actual programmes provided by educational institutions. The person often has a particular question, and wants to begin the learning effort with that particular question. Reading about it, asking people questions, or gaining insight in other ways will probably lead to further questions. The learning path that gradually emerges will not be a neat, linear, easy-to-predict path; instead, it will zig and zag, hop and skip, in an apparently chaotic pattern. By the end of this path, though, the learner will usually have obtained an excellent comprehensive grasp of the entire subject-matter area. His or her motivation will have been high throughout, and the learning will have been exciting and exhilarating.

The typical instructor, though, tends to plan carefully an entire sequence of subject matter. He will usually begin at the logical beginning, perhaps the historical beginning, rather than starting with the interest, curiosity, or puzzlement of the learner. The instructor will plan a neat, linear, straightforward path through the entire body of subject matter. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that adults attend courses and classes for only about 12 per cent of their major learning efforts.

As teachers and planners in adult education - and in schools and colleges for youth as well - come to understand better the individual's learning efforts, they may develop much more suitable help and encouragement for this learning. Instead of forcing learners to proceed through the educator's preconception of the most appropriate sequence of content and method, perhaps educators will fit their help into individuals' on-going learning efforts.

WHY PEOPLE CHOOSE SELF-PLANNING

Over the years, several educators have discussed various learning efforts that are somewhat similar to self-planned learning projects, but not identical. They have labelled their phenomena in various ways: self-education, self-instruction, self-teaching, individual learning, independent study, self-directed learning, self-study. While engaged in such efforts to learn, individuals have been called autonomous learners, self-propelled learners, self-teachers, and autodidacts.

McCatty (1973) found that in almost half of all self-planned efforts, one major reason for self-planning is the desire for individualised subject matter. The learner does not need an entire body of knowledge provided by a class, course, or conference. Instead, he wants to select the subject matter so that it can be applied to his particular interests.

Physical availability is also a common reason for choosing a self-planned approach. It is often easier and faster for the person to conduct the learning in a location that is especially convenient for him.

A few learners choose self-planning because of a certain facet of their personality. The person may want to prove to himself that he can do things. He may want to feel independent, self-reliant, and autonomous. Financial economy also accounts for some decisions by learners to plan for themselves. Flexibility of time was another factor encouraging the learner to plan his own learning project; a course would have imposed the requirement of specifically scheduled hours of attendance.

Maria Brown (1972) has a fascinating suggestion for adult education agencies. She found that many persons avoid "the rigid scheduling and formal classroom atmosphere prevailing in adult education institutions". They are interested in highly practical matters that could be facilitated by a workshop approach more than by a classroom. Her suggestions follow: "If a householder could drop in at a "Householders" Fixit Centre, where for a simple fee payable at the door he could get such immediate, one-shot practical instruction in how to deal with any of the many repair and maintenance chores which inevitably crop up in any household, many more people might participate in such educational or instructional ventures. Such participation would not necessitate them to register for a fixed number of weeks at specific times. As far as the respondents of this study are concerned, fewer lectures and more workshops are needed in many subject areas. Why does not some enterprising school board buy an old decrepit house and use that as a workshop for practical instruction in how to "fix it?". The fact that so many of the resource people respondents turned to for advice and information were service station attendants, hardware merchants and local building supply stores' personnel shows that there are resources little explored and utilised for educational purposes."

HOW TO FOSTER SELF-PLANNED LEARNING

Most individuals are remarkably capable of planning and conducting their own learning. They decide what to learn, and how to go about it, with reasonable success. And when they need help, they often are acquainted with a person who can give the necessary information, or they can locate a useful book.

People do, however, have some difficulties in obtaining appropriate help. For example, sometimes they are unable to reach the desired resource. More often, the person or book that is chosen turns out to be much less helpful than predicted. At other times the learner does obtain the desired help, but only at great cost in time, money, effort, or frustration.

If these difficulties could be greatly reduced, self-planned learning could proceed with far less effort, time, and frustration. The planning steps could be performed more effectively and efficiently, with better decisions and arrangements. The learning activities could be better suited to the individual learner's needs and level.

Basically, there are two ways to reduce the difficulties that occur during the help-seeking process. The ideal solution, of course, may be a combination of both. One way is to increase the learner's competence at performing most of the preparatory and planning steps without help - and at obtaining appropriate help when he or she does need it. This possibility will be discussed in the next section. The other way is to provide much better help for the adult during the efforts to plan and learn.

Developing Competence at Planning and Learning

Though many individuals are already fairly competent at planning and conducting their own learning efforts, a large proportion of individuals are capable of dramatic improvement in their competence at self-planned learning. A new level of competence can lead, in turn, to more efficient and successful learning. The learner will also become more confident, and more willing to tackle difficult learning projects.

Helping people develop in these ways is an exciting frontier in human learning. What could be more important than helping people of all ages to develop skill in planning and conducting their own learning? Just what types of competence are needed to make a self-planned learning effort successful? Clearly it is important for every adult - and every younger person, too - to have a reasonably good ability to choose the subject matter and the planner. If the person decides to plan the learning effort himself, he or she needs several further sorts of competence.

The self-planner must be competent in knowing which preparatory step to perform next. Instead of deciding to let some object, person, or group perform most of these preparatory steps, the learner has decided to perform them. This will require skill in diagnosing his or her current problems and needs, and in deciding just which preparatory steps to perform at any given time.

He or she also needs competence in actually performing those preparatory steps. In order to decide the learning activities, for example, the self-planners must be familiar with certain general principles of learning and behaviour change, and with their own style of effective learning. In order to change certain habitual behaviour, they may need skill in establishing some feedback mechanism for measuring their day-to-day performance. They might benefit from greater skill in finding appropriate resources in a library or bookstore, using reference books and bibliographic tools, and finding appropriate human help.

The more competent they are at performing each of the preparatory steps, the less help they will need. But almost every learner does seek and obtain at least some help. Many difficulties can arise during these efforts to obtain help. Consequently, the learner can benefit greatly from being competent in each stage of the help-seeking process.

At the very early stages, for example, they must be able to diagnose fairly precisely and accurately just what help they need. They must decide which preparatory steps could be performed much more efficiently with help and what the optimum (most efficient) amount of help would be. Then they must choose an appropriate resource for providing the help, and must successfully reach or obtain that resource. During contact with the resource, the learner must be competent at gaining the desired help.

Eventually the learner should be able to analyse and plan the entire learning process in any project, taking whatever actions are needed to maintain the successful flow of learning. Whenever necessary, they should be able to evaluate progress and efficiency, diagnose difficulties, seek appropriate help, and plan the next steps. In short, they should always be "on top of the whole situation", comfortable and competently in control, seeking advice whenever necessary, but never relying too heavily on that advice.

Competence at actually doing the learning, not only at planning and arranging it, is also necessary. In almost any learning situation, the learner needs certain minimum skills in listening, taking notes, reading, memorising, or performing some other learning activity. Such learning skills or "study habits" may be especially important when professional assistance is not readily available.

The increased efficiency that can result from a mastery of high-speed reading techniques is particularly impressive. Learning through reading becomes a very effective and rapid process. Perhaps even more important, the person's confidence increases along with his competence: he no longer hesitates to tackle any book for topic, no matter how formidable.

In the first interviews conducted by the author about self-planned learning, the typical attitudes of people toward their own self-planned learning were surprising. When an interest in the person's recent learning was expressed, the initial response was often a self-deprecating remark. The person's initial perception seemed to be that he had not done any learning at all during the past year, and any learning he had done was unimportant or of low quality. Many said their learning was very strange or offbeat - not at all like that of other people. Although these initial self-deprecating comments were sincere, they were very unrealistic. By the end of each interview it was evident that the person had learned a great deal, had spent a large amount of time at learning, and had used a variety of methods. His actual learning had been much greater and better than his initial attitude suggested. As we come to understand these attitudes, we will probably be able to help learners develop a more accurate image of their learning. More and more people will realise that self-planned learning projects are a common, natural, and important activity of many persons. The competent self-planner is realistic about the potential power of self-planned learning, and about his own limits. He is aware of the total pattern of his own self-planned learning, and is confident about his ability to plan and conduct such learning successfully.

Several methods could help a person to improve his competence at self-planning. Parents, libraries, clubs, and employers could all play some role in developing competence at planning. Adult education institutions might sponsor a group programme devoted to developing this skill. A book on how to plan for learning could help the reader understand the tasks, problems and feelings that a learner faces, and suggest steps he can take to deal with these. It could contain questionnaires or other methods for diagnosing one's own weaknesses in planning and learning, and for setting corresponding objectives.

Various books on how to study are already available, and some of them are excellent for full-time students or for adults returning to the classroom. But few if any of these books try to develop skills as a planner, and few of them deal with learning projects outside of academic educational institutions. Instead, they emphasise learning skills, such as how to concentrate and improve your memory, make notes, improve reading speed and writing style, and prepare for examinations. These skills are important, but they are not enough.

Schools and colleges also tend to develop skills in passing courses rather than in conceiving, refining, planning, and guiding one's own learning projects. They deal primarily with a learning situation in which an instructor rather than the learner himself is responsible for most of the objectives, planning, requirements, and even resources. The learner's task, in this case, is to learn the subject matter chosen by the instructor.

Even within this context, though, efforts to help students increase their learning competence are becoming increasingly important. Books and courses to develop effective reading and effective writing are common. Courses in study habits or "learning how to learn" are developing. Recorded programmes are available to improve listening skills. Courses and books are designed to improve memory, creativity, and the management of time.

If educators in schools and colleges really want to prepare their students for a lifetime of learning, they should certainly think more about how to develop self-planning skills. Adolescents and college students already conduct many self-planned learning projects outside of their educational institution. Though few educators and schools even notice or care about such learning projects, the student's out-of-school learning may prepare him better for adult learning than his in-school experiences do.

Adult education programmes and advanced graduate programmes could also make a major contribution toward increasing competence in self-planned learning.

Better Help with the Planning

The ideal learner accepts the world of resources as it is, and learns in spite of his difficulties in obtaining help. This characteristic should not prevent attempts to change that world in order to make learning efforts more efficient and pleasant. The possibility of developing better help with the day-to-day preparatory and planning steps is examined here.

It is interesting to speculate on adult learning and youth learning in the future. Some important changes will occur in what people learn, why they learn, and the total amount they learn. Changes in the help available for the learner will probably be even more significant. Human help with the major decisions about learning will be more available, effective, and individualised. Hardware and non-human resources will increasingly be tailored to the individual, or at least flexible enough to meet his needs.

Clearly learners need greatly improved help in various aspects of planning their learning. Inadequate help results in countless wasted hours, inappropriate projects, and inefficient methods. Because of the lack of available help, the person may not even start the learning project in the first place. Yet, without learning, how can he deal effectively with his job, home, family, recreational activities, and finances?

The development of better help should be based on the characteristics and needs of the learner. We must ensure that the help suits his plans, needs and schedule as much as possible, rather than insisting that he accept a prestructured body of subject matter learned through a predetermined sequence of methods and activities.

Who will provide the better help? To some extent, almost everyone may provide the improved help. Already the self-planner receives a great deal of help from friends, relatives, and co-workers. In the future, perhaps most of these acquaintances will provide even better help because of certain training they receive. Thurman White has suggested that in the future one sort of skill required of each college graduate will be skill in helping others learn. One goal of parent education can be greater skill in helping children learn. Supervisory and management training can try to develop competence in helping subordinates learn appropriate knowledge and skill.

In addition, more comprehensive or sophisticated types of help might be provided by a variety of agencies. Libraries of all types - public, university, school and special - are certainly logical centres for such help if they improve the variety and quality of their human and non-human help. Some new sort of learning consultant, helper, counsellor, guide or tutor might be trained. New bureaux to help learners might be set up by city governments, boards of education, the YMCA, or other voluntary agencies. Organisations might provide help for their employees or members, and educational institutions for their staff and students. Many of these agencies already help people learn, but their help could become much more individualised and useful for the self-planner.

Department stores or manufacturers might provide learning advisers for those who want to begin a certain hobby or consider some major purchase. Book stores, college residences, and hospitals are other possible locations for learning consultants. An association or union of those in a certain profession or occupation might provide learning advisers for their members.

In addition, providing effective individualised help is the responsibility of various government departments that is just as appropriate as group instruction and mass media instruction. Individualised help for learners is not necessarily more expensive than mass or group instruction if

1. we become more efficient than we are now at providing it,
2. it is provided only for appropriate individuals and subject matter, and
3. one looks at actual results, not just the number of persons who are reached.

Non-human resources, too, can be helpful with some preparatory steps. These objects might include a book, computer, television programme, or recording. A non-human resource can sometimes provide highly individualised help.

HELPING PEOPLE DECIDE WHAT TO LEARN

Helping people set their directions for learning-change-growth is clearly a very significant area. Probably the most common source of help is simply friends, family members, co-workers, and other amateur helpers. A second common source of help is printed materials. Various books and magazine articles try to help people consider alternative paths of learning or change, and to choose the next step or two. A third source of help is provided by individuals as part of their job. In an educational institution, for example, each student may have a programme adviser. If the student decides to take an individual study or independent study course, he or she may also have an adviser for that particular effort. In the United States and Canada, Campus-Free College has programme advisers in most cities: instead of attending classes on a campus, each student simply obtains guidance from one adviser. Some counselling services (such as those provided by some YMCA s) and some psychotherapists try to help clients choose their next growth step.

Finally, some organised groups are available to help people sort out their next steps in growth and learning. Some groups are called "life planning" groups. Some are organised particularly for women. Some alternative vocations centres also perform this function. And in California, a small organisation called Black Bart Brigade is experimenting with various ways of helping men and women over 30 explore alternative lifestyles and jobs.

In general, it seems that far more research, development and innovation are needed in this entire area of helping learners set their goals for changing themselves and their lives.

HELPING PEOPLE PLAN HOW TO LEARN

Once the person has decided what to learn, or in what direction to change, he or she may still need help in deciding how to proceed. Several sorts of help already exist, but again a great deal remains to be done.

One of the oldest and most useful mechanisms used for choosing resources is the annotated bibliography. Some of these are prepared by course instructors, some by libraries, and some are published as books. Indeed, in the United States at least, some are published as periodicals.

A similar function can be provided by a good librarian. In a few fields, it is even possible to enter a few key words in a computer, and receive a print-out describing the available resources. Various indexes, reviews, summaries, and listings can be used by a learner to find appropriate films, records, videotape recordings, subject-matter experts, and television programmes. In order to choose especially educative television programmes, for example, many learners check the weekly listing for their local viewing area.

Ivan Illich (1971) and Everett Reimer (1971) have suggested some specific mechanisms through which learners can discover appropriate resources for their learning. One of their suggestions is the skill exchange, which permits persons to list their skills, and the conditions under which they are willing to serve as models for others who want to learn the skills. At least 14 of these exchanges have sprung up in the United States as well as two abroad. A second suggested mechanism is the peer matching network, which permits persons to describe the learning activity in which they wish to engage, in the hope of finding a partner for the inquiry. A third possibility is a directory of educators-at-large, giving the addresses and self-descriptions of professionals, paraprofessionals, and freelancers, along with conditions of access to their services.

Another source of help is the expert. In an hour, or even in just a few minutes, it is often possible to receive answers to some bothersome questions from an expert, such as a professor or a skilled practitioner.

Catalogues of learning resources and opportunities are another source of help in deciding how to proceed. Such a catalogue may list the courses offered by one institution. In Toronto, there is a single catalogue which lists all of the adult education programmes in a wide variety of institutions throughout the metropolitan region. Elsewhere, some universities co-operate in publishing a joint catalogue of their correspondence courses. Coyne and Hebert (1972) have produced a comprehensive and powerful guide to alternative learning opportunities for youth. "Somewhere Else: A Living-learning Catalogue" lists many learning opportunities provided outside the regular educational system.

The ideal form of help, it seems, is a broad range learning consultant. Such a person would be available free or at very low cost at almost any time, by phone or in person. No matter what sort of planning step was causing trouble, the learner would be able to get immediate help in coping with it, or would at least be referred immediately to someone else who could provide the necessary help.

HELPING THE INDIVIDUAL OBTAIN KNOWLEDGE, ANSWERS AND RESOURCES

Providing the actual knowledge or resources is the traditional way of helping individual learners. That is, direct help with their learning activities, such as reading or watching television, rather than helping them plan and arrange their own learning. For example, the provision of books, recordings, language laboratories, and possibly kits for packages of materials. Additional possibilities being explored are the provision of individual experts, individually selected films and television programmes, information centres, and flexible computer diagrams. Some of the possibilities are studied in more detail below.

Print

Reading printed material is an especially important learning activity in many self-planned learning projects. All 40 projects described in "Learning Without a Teacher", for example, used some printed materials.

If he has reasonable skills in getting what he wants from printed sources, a learner finds that books and other printed materials provide a highly efficient and flexible way to learn. He can read the sections in whatever sequence he pleases, omit the irrelevant portions, and reread the difficult sections.

As more and more adults learn to scan print at thousands of words per minute, books may prove to be too slow and awkward. Instead, someone may invent a machine for displaying a continuous vertical scroll. The speed and direction of the scroll could be controlled by two foot pedals. A separate analytical table of contents could be displayed beside the machine. Access to printed words on a television screen or a similar screen may also become more common.

To deal with the flood of new knowledge and information, various systems using abstracts and key words are being developed. An individual may establish a profile of his interests, occupational specialities, and desired areas of information. The key words or subject matter areas are then used by an agency to determine which abstracts or news items to send him, thus weeding out much of the irrelevant material before it even reaches the learner. Even when he does receive the material, it may be in the form of abstracts (summaries) rather than complete articles in a journal or newspaper. Using the telephone or a reply postcard, the learner can then order a more detailed version of any item he judges to be especially relevant for him. Cheaper or faster ways of getting the desired materials into the learner's hands will eventually be developed - perhaps a combination of television transmission and cheaper photocopying methods. One-hour delivery by car or motor cycle is another possibility.

The days of disseminating stock quotations, career opportunities, and information on expensive consumer purchases (hours for sale, product information) indiscriminately to a mass audience may be ending. Instead, the person who wants to check the value of his stocks, seek a new job, or buy a house or television set will convey his request to some central agency or bureau that will quickly provide him with the detailed information he needs.

Programmed instruction and computer-assisted instruction are also new ways of learning. By taking the learner through a subject step by step, with frequent testing, they help him learn efficiently. The sequence of steps is largely predetermined, though the use of a computer permits a fairly sophisticated sort of branching. These methods are sometimes called "individualised instruction" because they let the learner proceed at his own pace, unlike the classroom situation in which 20 or 40 students learn identical subject matter at an identical pace. Programmed instruction and computer-assisted instruction provide opportunities for highly efficient learning of certain subject matter that could not be learned nearly so efficiently 10 or 20 years ago. New forms of self-instructional workbooks may combine some of the principles of programmed instruction with characteristics that will help the person himself choose appropriate branches or paths, and help him apply his learning to practical situations.

Individually Selected Films and Television Programmes

Although some new forms of printed materials are being developed, the self-planned learner's basic reliance on print is not new. One or two other ways of learning, however, provide dramatic (but relatively untapped) potential for self-planned learning.

One of these potential new ways of learning is the provision of individually selected films or television programmes in the home or office. It is generally accepted that watching a film or television programme is a highly effective way to learn, combining the gripping quality of ever-changing colour pictures and other visual stimuli with spoken words, music, and sound effects. So far, though, this powerful learning resource has not really been made available for self-planned learning. Films are almost never viewed by one person alone in his home or office, and at any given time the typical television set offers a choice of only a dozen programmes. Because the adults in one viewing area may be conducting learning projects on a hundred thousand topics in any one week, only a small proportion of these persons will find a highly relevant programme on television.

Giving the learner access to thousands of films or programmes, so that he can choose one or more that are directly related to his current learning project, will be a major innovation. The film or videotape he selects might then be transmitted individually to his home or office at whatever time he chooses, or the film or videotape might be delivered to him by truck or car within an hour or two of his request. Television sets with attached videotape players are already available, as are individual viewers for movies using fool-proof cartridges. Presumably, in the future, the learner will be able to stop the film or videotape at any time in order to study a single picture in detail. He should also be able to replay any portion he wishes, control the speed within certain limits, and locate any particular portion quickly.

Ithiel de Sola Pool has pointed out the likelihood of a shift in television from a mass medium to an individualised or interactive medium. He announced boldly that "we are at the beginning of an era in which the preferred communications devices need no longer have the quality of mass communications. Increasingly, communications devices will be adapted to individualised use by the consumer where and when he wants, on his own".

Already some public libraries lend films as well as records and printed materials. A brochure from a public library in a Toronto suburb, for example, points out that "films are ideal for home use because many families have their own projectors. The subject range represented is tremendous: films for pure fun are combined with travel films and information reels on cooking, sewing, drafting, electricity, woodwork, etc. There is something for all age and interest groups".

Television and print might be combined more frequently in the future. When a person watches a news story on television, for example, he might be able to obtain background information or more detailed printed information on news items of particular interest to him. These correlated printed materials could be mailed or delivered, or could be transmitted immediately by means of the television set itself and a photocopy attachment, or over telephone or teletype lines.

Experts

Enormous untapped potential can be found in another method of learning: talking with an outstanding expert in the field of knowledge or skill. Many experts, researchers, theorists, political leaders, athletes, professors, and others are willing to speak to groups. They might also be willing to answer questions for an individual for half an hour, on the phone or in person, perhaps for a large or a small fee. They might criticise the learner's present style, assumptions, or procedures. Many learners and employers would be willing to pay for a high-impact talk with a certain outstanding expert. Perhaps such an arrangement will become increasingly common and acceptable during the next few decades.

Travel

Travel is another powerful way to learn. While travelling, though, the tourist is often plagued by a lack of complete up-to-date information on the opportunities available to him. Also, many travel booklets and bus tours are aimed at a mass audience of typical travelers, and ignore the variety of special interests and learning projects that travelers have. Perhaps students could serve as individual guides to answer the tourist's questions about the particular city or country, and to show him the aspects that are especially relevant to the tourist's personal interest. Tours of factories, homes, schools, farms, and villages could also be provided.

Information Centres

A significant source of information in the United Kingdom is the neighbourhood information centre. Without going far from home, a person can obtain information and advice on a variety of problems. These centres are especially useful when a person is uncertain of his rights and opportunities under various government policies. If the neighbourhood information centre cannot answer his question, he is referred to some other agency for the appropriate information or help.

Miscellaneous

Several other new and improved methods of learning already provide (or soon will provide) opportunities for learning that were not available 10 or 20 years ago.

Videotape recorders enable the beginning teacher or salesman to observe his own performance. Encounter groups provide a variety of affective and interpersonal learning experiences for couples and families, as well as for the occupations and other clientele served by training groups (known as T-groups) since the early 1950s. New simulation materials and equipment provide realistic but risk-free practice for increasingly complex skills and judgments. Language laboratories provide an effective but inexpensive way for the individual to learn a foreign language. Perhaps the Geoscope described by Buckminster Fuller (1962) or flexible computer diagrams will be able to display certain phenomena and principles that cannot be effectively or accurately portrayed by film.

REDUCING THE EMPHASIS ON CREDIT

Some educators suggest or imply that all learning controlled by a professional instructor in an educational institution is good (and therefore a certificate or degree is a guarantee of good learning) - and that other sorts of learning are poor or non-existent. Some want to extend the stamp of approval of the educational institution to the rest of the world: having won control of a major portion of the lives of children and adolescents, they want to control and give credit to all other learning as well. Some urge that compulsory schooling be extended to four-year-olds and to young adults.

It would seem, however, that shifts in the opposite direction would be more appropriate. The necessity and compulsion of schooling, and the emphasis on credit, should be reduced, not expanded. A variety of learning opportunities and resources (not just full-time classroom-centred instruction) should be made available. Learners of all ages should increasingly be left free to learn whatever, whenever, and however they wish. Their status and their employment opportunities should depend on their actual knowledge and skill and their relevant performance, not on where or how or when they gained that knowledge and skill. They should be judged by what they are, not by the pieces of paper they lack or hold.

As schools and colleges increase their students' freedom to choose what and how they learn, the emphasis on credit will decrease. Instead of frequently assessing the students' progress and level, the institution will emphasise the provision of resources and help for their learning. As a result, students will probably learn far more.

Five specific ways in which a school or college can reduce the emphasis on credit are discussed below.

A Pass-Fail Distinction Instead of a Precise Mark

If all the students in a class or course are expected to learn the same knowledge and skill, it is possible to measure fairly precisely just how much each student has learned. This, in turn, makes it possible to rank order the students or to assign each student a fairly precise grade or mark.

When students in a course are learning a wide variety of subject matter, though, it is more difficult to compare them. For example, if one student reads widely in the field and another student collects some original data in order to learn about a narrow portion of the field, who should be given the higher mark? When students have a great deal of freedom in what they learn, it is often better simply to decide whether each student has learned enough to pass the course or not. A student who has learned enough knowledge and skill (regardless of what it is) or who has spent enough time in learning efforts related to the course receives a grade of "pass". There are no further distinctions within this category. If a student spends little time at learning, or finishes with insufficient knowledge and skill, he receives a grade of "fail".

In some schools and colleges the student and instructor co-operate in writing a short description of what the student learned. This statement is then recorded on the student's official record along with the "pass" grade.

Distinguishing the Functions of Helping and Evaluating

The help that an instructor provides to the students in his course is often distorted and restricted by the fact that he is also the judge or evaluator of each student. The learners feel they must follow his advice and try to please him.

An alternative is to divide the helping and evaluating functions between two different instructors. One instructor then becomes a helper who is clearly "on the students' side". They can seek his help in meeting the external requirements without worrying about his opinion of their efforts and decisions. Some other instructor or institution then sets or at least marks the assignments and examinations.

If the examinations and assignments are narrow or biased, however, or if the market is harsh, this situation may not be an improvement. But if the helper and evaluator co-operate, and if certain safeguards are provided, dividing the functions of helping and evaluating can potentially improve the learning.

The Learner Assigns his Own Mark

In some courses and classes it is appropriate for each student to choose the most suitable procedure for determining his grade. Such a procedure is especially appropriate when much of the knowledge and skill learned by each student is different from what the other students are learning.

When given a choice of procedures, most students prefer to assign their own marks individually. The major criterion used by the student is usually the amount of knowledge and skill that he has learned, or the extent to which he has successfully applied that knowledge and skill. He may also take into account the amount of time that he has spent at the learning. In a group of self-planners, each learner may also take into account a less important criterion: the extent to which he has helped other students learn.

In one variation of this procedure, the student also submits his reasons for believing that the mark he has chosen is the most appropriate one. If the instructor feels the mark is not appropriate, he then discusses it with the student.

Another variation is for the student to set a target grade near the beginning of the course, instead of waiting until the end. The student then learns enough to feel that he has achieved his target grade.

Let us quickly dismiss two objections to procedures in which the learner assigns his own mark. One objection is that students will learn less if they are not being evaluated by an instructor. In actual practice, the opposite seems to be true - depending, of course, on the instructor's skill in establishing an appropriate climate. The other objection is that a few students will give themselves a much higher mark than they deserve. Even if this does occur, I would hesitate to abandon or distort a procedure that is most beneficial for the largest number of students just because of a small number of "cheaters". In practice, the usual experience is that students mark themselves too low, not too high.

Reducing the Proportion of Credit Learning

A school or college can also decrease the amount of credit learning required of its students. The institution might reduce the amount of compulsory knowledge and skill, the number of courses that the student must pass, or the proportion of his time spent at credit learning. The institution could either insist that the student learn something, without restricting or evaluating just how and what he learns, or the institution could leave him completely free to learn or not as he wishes.

A school or college could refuse to provide any marks or credit whatsoever. Instead, assuming that people will be eager to learn many things for various other reasons, it would concentrate solely on providing help with that learning. If it screened its learners before agreeing to serve them, it would simply select those who could benefit most from the institution's help or who would put their learning to use in society.

In effect, the educational institution would tell its learners something like this: "We have some library resources, librarians, non-credit lecture series, seminars in which students take turns presenting papers, groups to help self-planned learning projects, and some staff members who are competent at helping learners set their goals and plan their strategy. If you think any of these resources would be beneficial to you in planning and conducting some learning projects, you are welcome to come and make use of them for a nominal fee".

Thurman White (1965) foresees a learning society in which people will be judged on whether they can learn or are learning, not on their past attainments in formal educational institutions. "The learning man will replace the knowing man as society's most valued and highly prized member... Political candidates will run on their problem-solving ability. Employers will advertise for the most learnable applicants. Television will use prime time to show people as they study questions of common concern... Mastery of the learning process will top the aims of formal schooling. Teaching as the art of helping someone else in his effort to change himself (i.e. learn) will be a required proficiency of all college graduates".

First, in most societies, it is considered essential for every member of the society to learn certain things, such as how to read, enough arithmetic to handle money, and something about the nation's history. If we ever realistically examined the minimum knowledge and skill that a society should require, it might turn out to be a surprisingly short list. There would probably be some required knowledge and skill, though, and consequently some sort of evidence of its achievement might be required of each individual.

Second, it is necessary for some associations or government departments to certify that certain individuals are competent to perform certain tasks or occupations. We care about the competence of the doctor, plumber, and accountant. Consequently, we want someone to verify their knowledge and skill before they work for us.

At present, both of these needs for credit are usually handled by providing courses and requiring people to pass them. It might make sense to experiment with another procedure for determining whether certain individuals have gained the necessary knowledge and skill. Instead of requiring them to take courses, we could point out some alternative ways of learning the knowledge and skill. Then, at least every month or two, we would provide some sort of examination for anyone who felt that he or she had reached the necessary level.

Children could learn to read and handle money in whatever way seemed most enjoyable or efficient to them. They might use a variety of methods and resources. They might occasionally seek help in establishing procedures for evaluating their own progress or level, or they might even ask some other person to evaluate their level privately. Then, when satisfied that they had reached the required minimum level, they would demonstrate this in some examination situation.

The person interested in entering a certain occupation, too, might seek some help in determining what knowledge and skill she or he is lacking. They would then gain that knowledge and skill, using whatever resources and institutions were most convenient and effective. They might obtain practical experience in a variety of situations, or perhaps only in a single situation. Before being allowed to become a full-time unsupervised practitioner, they would have to demonstrate that they were ready to enter that occupation.

This procedure might not be appropriate for every occupation, but it could certainly increase the quality of those who enter certain occupations. The success of the experiment might hinge to a large extent on the nature of the examination situation. If the exabinations are based only on two books or a few particular courses, then there is not really much choice in how and what to learn. Instead, the examination situation should test the person's competence in handling real-life problems, cases, or tasks. They might be observed during several weeks of actually performing on the job, for example. This would permit them to seek information and advice from various printed sources and colleagues, just as most competent practitioners do in actual practice. The examination situation might also test a person's basic understanding of the field, and a certain essential core of knowledge and skill.

It is evident by now that I believe that evaluating and helping a person are conflicting tasks. Educational institutions as well as individual instructors find themselves in the awkward position of evaluating the learning of the same individuals they are helping. The result has been to distort and reduce the effectiveness of educational institutions in promoting learning. In fact, they sometimes hinder significant learning instead of facilitating it.

One solution is simple. Schools and colleges should evaluate their students' level of knowledge and skill only when absolutely necessary, if ever. These evaluations should be used only for the internal purposes of that educational institution. They should not be released to prospective employers.

For many positions, the employer himself should assess the individual's capacity to perform the job. An employer should develop screening procedures that are fair, realistic, and reliable instead of simply insisting that the person hold a certain degree or secondary school certificate. For occupations that are standard in many companies, or that are practised individually by self-employed persons, the test of competence could be developed and administered by the professional association and/or government.

NEIGHBOURHOOD HELPERS FOR YOUTH EDUCATION

Until recently, it has generally been assumed that each student's education during any given year will be provided entirely by a single school or college. In addition, it has always been recognised that certain attitudes and skills could be taught in the home. Children and adolescents take music lessons, swimming lessons, and ballet lessons from instructors outside the school system. Our 1970 survey indicated that some students spend a great deal of time at out-of-school learning projects. Nonetheless, most educators and parents assume that the school or college attended by the student is far more important in his learning than all the other resources put together.

But it is no longer necessary to assume that a single educational institution will meet all the needs of a given learner. By focusing on the learning, we can see a variety of ways of meeting his needs through a variety of institutions.

The responsibility for providing subject matter is already shifting toward a variety of institutions, with the student no longer tied to a single institution. The student learns from field trips to museums and forests, in the public library, and even from certain television programmes recommended by an instructor. Perhaps schools and colleges will eventually encourage learners to obtain much of their help and subject matter from resources outside the institution.

As there is a shift away from each student attending a single school or college full-time, it may be that the student will spend more and more of his time learning at home. Indeed, his study area at home, and his immediate neighbourhood, may become his base for learning. Instead of travelling to a certain building or campus five days a week, he may learn at home, and may travel to a number of buildings and resources through the city.

All students could be provided with free transportation on the city's buses and subways, and free admission to various museums and other educational buildings. Alternatively, each student could be issued an identification card and a certain number of educational coupons that he could use in place of money for these purposes. In addition, he might be authorised to buy whatever books or informational magazines he chooses up to a certain amount of money.

If the learner's base of operation shifts from the school or campus to his home, perhaps the instructors should move in the same direction. That is, professionally trained persons who are competent at stimulating and facilitating learning should be provided throughout each geographical area, not clustered in certain buildings.

Imagine, for example, a typical one-block street in a typical city or suburb 15 years from now. One person, trained as a teacher, is paid by the local board of education to stimulate the 30 children and adolescents on that street and to help them learn whatever seems appropriate to each one. Much of the teacher's time is spent conversing with individual children. Some conversations take place in the teacher's home or on his front steps, some in the child's home, and some on the street. The teacher helps each child set certain learning objectives, and helps him plan how to achieve them. Sometimes the teacher suggests pairs or small groups of children who might get together for certain learning projects. The teacher has a few books, newspapers, and magazines to lend to children, but the learners obtain most of their printed resources from the public library and from people living on their street. Some field trips are organised for the younger children, occasionally including children of a similar age or with similar interests from a nearby street. For certain recreational and athletic activities, as well as for specialised workshops and laboratories, the children and adolescents travel to the building that used to be called "the school".

The teacher might also be responsible for helping any adults on the block who want help in planning their learning. In addition, the teacher might try to stimulate some adults to increase their learning or to see a wider variety of learning possibilities.

A similar arrangement might be useful in certain developing nations. Instead of establishing school buildings and liberal arts colleges, such countries might experiment with this neighbourhood helper model, as Illich (1971) has suggested. Most helpers would be mature local adults. In addition, some experiments might try using overseas volunteers as neighbourhood teachers. Anyone who wanted to learn about agriculture or health, or how to read or do simple arithmetic, would then approach this helper.

CONCLUSION

There is now a much clearer picture of self-planned learning than there was a few years ago. And we are beginning to see some of the directions in which innovations will be able to foster self-planned learning. But clearly a great deal remains to be done before any society will be able to claim that it fosters self-planned learning effectively.

At this stage, the greatest need is for financial grants by governments, and also by educational systems and institutions, to encourage and evaluate a diversity of interests to foster self-planned learning. These innovative efforts could be provided by established educational institutions, or by other established organisations such as public libraries or local governments. In addition, some of the most valuable new services and materials might grow out of small pilot projects developed by newly-formed groups or even by creative individuals.

The eventual result might be an astounding increase in the amount of appropriate knowledge and skill learned within human society, accompanied by a high degree of individual competence at planning and learning. Self-planned learning could become even more rewarding, effective, challenging, and enjoyable than it is now.

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V

A NEW APPROACH IN DANISH ADULT EDUCATION

by
Helge Severinsen

I. INTRODUCTION

A new concept of lifelong integrated learning has emerged as a result of an international debate during the years after the Second International Conference on Adult Education in Montreal (1960). Moreover, discussions, reports and papers undertaken by Unesco, the Council of Europe and the OECD all contributed to the development of this new outlook on education as a lifelong process, and prompted an awareness of the necessity for educational innovation as regards the educational system: it should be envisaged as a whole. Primary, secondary, higher and adult education should be all integral parts of this system and viewed in connection with social and cultural policies and plans.

The Council of Europe publication, "Permanent Education" (1971), and the Unesco report "Learning to Be" (1972) represent two major contributions to a systematic and precise definition of the principle of lifelong integrated learning and have spurred the discussion During the Third International Conference on Adult Education in 1972, held by Unesco in Tokyo, the 82 delegations agreed unanimously on the fact that development of adult education should be considered in the light of lifelong integrated learning.

In Denmark, the preparations for the Third International Conference on Adult Education brought a large number of adult educators together to discuss and formulate the national report. The result of this preparatory work was a widespread awareness of the necessity for new ways of thinking by adult education. The Tokyo Conference was followed up in several manners. A working group, set up by the Minister of Education, drew up a comprehensive set of principles for the development of adult education. These principles are now under discussion in the Central Educational Council (established by the Minister of Education in 1973 with the purpose of co-ordinating educational reform endeavours). Recently, the Minister of Education has requested from the Central Educational Council a comprehensive 15-year plan for a reform of the educational system in Denmark.

Inspired to a large extent by the studies and reports published by OECD, particularly "Recurrent Education, a Strategy for Lifelong Learning", 1973, the concept of "recurrent education" as a dominating pattern of adult education has been discussed in Denmark. The organisations of the labour market have especially adopted this approach to solve the problem of updating, re-schooling, and re-orientation of industrial manpower. Adult education associations and institutions have responded favourably to the concept of recurrent education, stressing that this is one important way in which to organise adult education, bearing in mind that the social and cultural aspects of change are as important as the industrial ones.

II. FROM "POPULAR ENLIGHTENMENT" TO "ADULT EDUCATION"

Traditionally, in the mind of most Danes, educational activities for adults have been considered a voluntary leisure activity, established by private associations and schools for those interested, a field of work for engaged amateurs, receiving public support but liberally controlled and lacking any high political priority.

The initiators of activities have most often been attached to political movements and have, to a large extent, felt themselves rooted in the popular movements dating back to national and religious revivals of the early 19th century, which were in critical opposition to classical humanistic education ("the black school"). Their goal has been the awakening of personal civic and cultural responsibility.

The Act of Compulsory Education of 1814 made provisions for adult evening classes but with no significant success. A major contribution to adult education has been the folk high school movement. The first folk high school was established in 1844. It is a widely accepted although not scientifically established hypothesis that the existence of the folk high schools contributed strongly to the economic and social growth of the farming population, especially during the critical period of the 1880s when Danish agriculture had to shift from grain to animal and dairy production.

The opening of the borders after World War II, general economic development, decrease in weekly working hours, and changes in the occupational structure were developments which gave rise to new initiatives. During the 1950s and 1960s education for adults has received growing political attention. This is mirrored in a series of new legislative initiatives. Tendencies clearly show a stress on more formalised activities with stronger support and heavier control from public authorities.

III. THE SIXTIES: A DECADE OF EXPANSION

A reform of the elementary school in 1968 extended compulsory education from 7 to 9 years. During the 60s, voluntary participation in 8th and 9th elementary education had grown to almost 80 per cent, and enrolment in secondary education boomed. These developments have stressed the problem of the "educationally underprivileged". Approximately 70 per cent of the adult population have 7 years of basic education and no more, and are increasingly becoming aware of the gap between them and the younger, well-educated generation.

The knowledge explosion and the technological revolution have made necessary a new concept of education in Denmark as well as elsewhere. While adult education discussion during the 50s centred around the problem of growing leisure, the 60s have been dominated by the concept of change and by a lack of certainty of purpose and goals. Experimentations in adult education were multiple but had very few systematic guidelines.

The frame of reference for education became open-ended, new opportunities and possibilities seemed limitless, and adult education tried to meet the needs for shaping an uncertain future though without any sense of direction and without defining basic values, by pouring into the market new educational inventions and offers - only to find that those who benefited the most from these available educational opportunities were those who were already well educated.

Mechanisation of farming and the shift from agricultural to industrial and tertiary occupation created a need for very concrete and job-oriented types of re-schooling and re-orientation courses. The problem was viewed basically as an employment problem, and consequently the educational initiative was taken by the Ministry of Labour in close co-operation with the organisations of the labour market. Towards the end of the decade, there was a growing awareness of the need for liberal subjects as a part of employment-oriented education. It was realised that change involved social and cultural issues as well as an occupational re-orientation. Partly, this problem was handled by the organisations of the labour market through a considerable increase in the number of courses dealing with the democratisation of labour relations.

The folk high schools, as parts of traditional adult education, went through a period of crisis during which the traditional link with the farming population was broken. The schools are still used by approximately 10 per cent of an age cohort, now broadly recruited from among all groups of the population.

University extension was enlarged and spread from the university cities so as to cover the entire country with its services. The adult education programmes of Radio Denmark were increased in numbers, particularly in TV programmes, and experimentation in the field of combined media projects was started, partly on a common Scandinavian basis. International contacts and co-operation, including technical assistance to the developing countries, gradually became an inspiring and important factor in adult education.

The increase of activities and the consequent growth in public expenditure, together with the above-mentioned fundamental changes of tasks and needs, created an awareness of the imminent necessity for training of adult education personnel, for research and development work, and for innovations. The intricate network of public support systems had become incomprehensible. Co-ordination and planning were felt necessary.

In spite of rapid increase in almost all fields of adult education, its position at the end of the 60s was still a marginal one. Public expenditure on adult education 1971/72 was approximately D.Kr.570 million (about US$.100 million), constituting about 7 per cent of total public expenditure on education (1971/72: approximately D.Kr.8 billion). Private expenditure for the same period can be estimated at approximately D.Kr.400 million, not considering the value of hours devoted by the participants to educational activities.

During the same period, increased efforts inside the social and cultural sectors have led to a closer co-operation with adult education. Revalidation and resocialisation systems were further developed, and the value of adult education as a preventive social measure became clear. Public libraries have expanded their services to adult education, and several of the larger libraries have taken up a role as cultural centres, offering activities of an educational nature, e.g. lecture series, language and civics courses for migrant workers, independent study counselling.

IV. BREAKING BARRIERS: FOCUS ON THE TRAINING AND STATUS OF ADULT EDUCATORS

The concept of lifelong integrated learning is a simple one, even banal at first glance. The moment it is put to practice, however, it seems to become revolutionary. The very simple and limited notion of co-ordination and equalisation of the training of adult education personnel immediately meets barriers of well-established procedures and formal types of training, for instance, which form the basis for different salary rules and a rich variety of public support systems.

It has been stated by many leaders and policy making groups that an open and determined co-operation between the different groups of teachers in adult education is a condition sine qua non for a successful adult education apparatus aimed at meeting the demands of changing society.

Training in adult education as a specific discipline is relatively recent. During the 60s, adult education was introduced as an elective field of specialisation in teacher training colleges. The vocational colleges introduced their own teacher training programme which was of considerable length. The Royal College of Education included youth and adult education in its programme. For the approximately 30,000 part-time teachers in voluntary adult education, a basic course of 180 hours was introduced by the Ministry of Education and taken up by the adult education associations as well as by county and state authorities; these training schemes shared a common feature; they are all in-service training. The content varies from one course to another, and with the exception of the Royal College of Education and the Teacher Training Colleges there are no formal examinations; the participants only receive a certificate of attendance.

A common trend in the existing training systems is that they are closely tied to a particular institutionalised educational situation - activities which take place in a structured classroom situation. If education is defined as the individual's learning process, i.e. the change and growth which the individual person experiences, passing through a sequence of activities which he himself plans and carries out - then we have to expand the concept beyond that of an administratively easily manageable activity inside an institution. The task of any educational institution or organisation then becomes that of catering for the need of the individual - a need which may very well be met by combining a series of opportunities offered by different institutions in, for instance, a town or a region.

The common starting point for all groups of teachers would then be the studying of all the factors which affect adult learning. This would include contributions from disciplines like psychology, pedagogics, sociology, as well as from medical, historical, and technical areas of study.

At a conference in September 1974, organised by the Ministry of Education and attended by approximately 100 leaders of adult education, a series of conclusions on the training of adult education personnel were established, notably:

a) Adult education will need three types of teachers/leaders:

   - Full-time teachers - who will work mostly in institutions or as "educational technologists", and who will need a thorough professional training.
   - Part-time teachers - who will - and should - form the overwhelming majority and whose differentiated vocational background and experience will have to be supplemented by substantial training and further training opportunities.
   - "Occasional" teachers, whose need will be an introductory course in adult education - together with the opportunity for further training.

b) In-service training should be preferable or the teaching programme should include a considerable amount of practice.

c) The training needs for this diversified group will be best fulfilled through a variety of elements or modules - offered by different agencies on a decentralised basis - from which the learner can combine his own programme so as to meet general common requirements.

d) The existing types of basic training for adult education will have to mutually recognise each other's candidates as eligible for participation in training activities.

e) Regional centres (of which three were then in existence) established through participation from interested agencies will be flexible instruments for co-ordination and exchange. They will have to be co-ordinated on the national level and should have close contact internationally as well.

V. EXPANDING THE CONCEPT OF LEARNING: RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

In the current educational debate it has been repeatedly stated that if the new concept of learning is to become more than a beautiful idea, it must be supported and expanded through relevant and dependable research and development initiatives. Scientific solidity necessitates the involvement of research institutes under university auspices, whereas relevance can be best assured by involving the active adult educator in research projects in which he could be a responsible participant in a systematic and determined endeavour.

Documentation service is another factor which is considered indispensable for the development of adult education under the aspect of lifelong integrated learning. Publication of research reports, experiments, and results would therefore be necessary and would demand co-operation and co-ordination between the bodies involved.

Related fields such as the cultural and social sectors and the mass media have a natural place in the research, development, and documentation process.

VI. REGIONAL INITIATIVES: CENTRES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

On the basis of the developments and discussions briefly described in Sections I to III, a series of conferences and seminars like the one just described were organised by the Ministry of Education and other agencies for the main purpose of coming to some conclusions regarding:

a) Co-ordination and expansion of adult education research and development work, and

b) status, training and further training of adult education personnel.

Unanimous recommendations pointed towards the establishment of a National Institute of Adult Education, preferably attached to the University centre of Odense. The Institute was seen as the instrument for co-ordination and development so urgently needed. However, with the general recession which began to make itself felt from 1973, the political climate became less favourable to the idea of establishing new, resource-demanding institutions.

The widespread activity dating from the preparations for the Tokyo conference had carried the discussion in adult education circles down to the regional and local level, and regional conferences and meetings had brought together organisers, teachers, and policy-makers from different fields of adult education in several regions of the country. Faced with the fact that the establishment of a National Institute would hardly occur in the foreseeable future, three of these regional groups decided, in the spring of 1974, to establish regional centres for the development of adult education (Western Zealand, Southern Jutland, and Copenhagen County).

The administrative unit of the county was chosen as a suitable and administrable delimitation of a "region". The 13 counties of Denmark have their elected councils with independent tax-based budgets, from where financial support could be provided for the centres. The possibility of common centres for larger regions was, however, in no way excluded.

Since 1974, four centres have been added. The purpose of the seven centres, as described in their statutes, can be stated as being that of:

a) Co-ordinating, inspiring, and initiating training and further training of adult education personnel,
b) Facilitating contacts between organisers of adult education, administrative bodies, and the public,
c) Undertaking documentation and information activities,
d) Inspiring and co-ordinating research and development work within the regional adult education, and
e) Facilitating co-operation with adult education institutions on the national level.

The centres are to be found in considerable parts of the country, though initiative has not yet been taken to establish centres for the northern counties of Jutland.

Six of the existing centres are organised as private, non-profit institutions. One is directly under county authority. They are largely financed by public funds (county and state authorities) and by fees from participants in training activities.

Membership is generally available to all bodies related to adult education in the region. A typical list of members in Western Zealand, for example, would include:

- Technical colleges,
- Folk high schools,
- Hospital nurse training colleges,
- Commercial colleges,
- Agricultural schools,
- Teacher training colleges,
- Secondary schools with adult education departments,
- Domestic Science schools,
- Voluntary adult education associations,
- University adult education extension,
- County adult education authority,
- County centre for educational material,
- Artisan schools,
- Regional departments of the Royal College of Education,
- Youth schools,
- County committee for further training of elementary school teachers,
- Training colleges for semi-skilled labour,
- Centres for formal adult education (credit courses),
- Education department of defence forces,
- Library association of the county,
- County social welfare and health department,
- County labour market committee.

As can be seen from the list, virtually all branches of adult education are represented, including the affiliated sectors of social welfare, of culture, and of employment affairs.

The Centres are governed by boards, which are composed of elected members, and they employ directors and secretaries. One (Southern Jutland) has buildings of its own with well-developed facilities, generally provided by member institutions. In four cases (S.J., Arhus, Fyn, Storstrom), the director is the county supervisor of adult education.

Activities of the first years include:

a) basic training of adult educators,
b) a series of specialised further training courses,
c) co-ordination of training activities, initiated by other agencies,
d) the beginnings of a documentation service,
e) research and studies, for instance, of reasons for drop-out in credit courses, problems of transition from elementary to technical training, combined media projects, the role of

film and TV in lifelong education, history of the development of the Youth School in relation to the political intentions behind its creation, institutional patterns of the Youth School, programmed instruction in mathematics, the role of the Youth School in the solution of social problems, relations between the Youth School and reforms in the field of vocational training.

The Centre of Western Zealand has decided not to take up basic training but instead to co-ordinate the activities of the member associations in this particular field.

Future projects, envisaged for coming years, are numerous and include studies (and recommendations) on such matters as:

a) counselling and advisory service and outreach activities,
b) private business and industry enterprises as sources and partners in adult education,
c) use of local radio/TV in adult education,
d) individual study patterns of adults (self-planned learning).

VII. NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION

The Minister of Education, by resolution of February, 1976, directed the ministry to support the existing seven centres. At the same time the Minister ordered that the establishment of further centres be postponed until a pattern of co-ordination is established in accordance with general educational planning. A co-ordination committee under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Department of Adult Education, has been operating since 1974. One of the assets of the Danish adult education has been its high degree of variation, a factor reflected in the centres though some tend to be more inclined towards experimentation than others. Over a period of time, it is expected that the country will create a network of regional centres which will mutually co-operate, and facilitate exchange; they will be generally financed by regional authorities.

A major initiative of the co-ordination committee has been the drawing up of a basic design of a new non-traditional training programme for adult education teachers, which aims at utilising formal as well as non-formal educational experiences as parts or modules of a formally recognised diploma course. There shall be several entrance and exit levels, depending on the level of instruction aimed at. The course itself shall be comprised of several approaches including formal class education, individual and correspondence studies, residential seminars, etc., the guiding principle being that the process is directed by the individual learner towards standardised evaluation procedures to measure the product.

The subject matter content of the training programme envisaged so far will include English, German, political science, and "manual subjects". The administration is expected to be divided between the centres.

The Ministry of Education has supported the development of the centres by decentralising the organisation of national training and further training courses for adult education personnel. These courses - all residential - have so far been organised by the Ministry, but have now been placed under the authority of the centres, though financed by the (central) state.

The most recent development (spring 1976) in the field of national co-ordination is the intention on the part of the University Centre of Southwest Jutland to take up research in adult education, in co-operation with the regional centres for the development of adult education. The combination of research personnel and facilities of the University with the practical experience and widely branched network of contacts established by the centres will provide an instrument for reliable and relevant research work.

VIII. PROBLEMS OF CO-ORDINATION: SOME EXAMPLES

Structural problems of participation include conspicuous differences in public support. Elementary, secondary, and higher education ("the system") are basically free of tuition. In adult education, however, there is a considerable discrimination, for financial help is given according to the notion that the closer to the "system", the stronger the support. Some examples: Evening classes: 25 per cent tuition. Folk high schools: 15 per cent tuition. Preparatory and compensatory courses: free. Training of semi-skilled labour: free tuition, salary and travel expenses are paid.

Participation by adult education personnel in further training courses is influenced very strongly by differences in support and compensation rules. Teachers in elementary and secondary education normally receive full coverage. The same is the case for teachers in vocational training institutions. Evening class teachers - many of them part-time - normally have free tuition and can apply for coverage of income foregone. The same holds true for folk high school teachers. In the case of residential courses, organised by the centres, the differences become most obvious: from full coverage to no compensation at all, depending on the type of organisation or institution employing the educator.

Differences in salary systems for adult education personnel constitute a lack of equality in access to further training. Salaries are based on formal education and are negotiated between public authorities on the one hand and, on the other, unions such as the Central Organisation of Academically Trained Personnel, and the Teachers' Association. A typical instance is constituted by the folk high schools which are free to employ anyone whom they consider fit to do the work. Official rules, negotiated with the unions, demand that teachers be salaried according to three different systems:

a) For university graduates,
b) For graduates from teacher training colleges,
c) For others.

The difference is considerable: for senior teachers approximately 30 per cent between categories c) and a) - though performances are equivalent.

Regulations of admission to further education courses constitute another problem. The Regional Centres have succeeded in opening further training activities, organised by member organisations, for teachers from other member institutions - on the condition that there are vacancies and on the basis of the rules of support which exist in the teacher's own institution.

Problems such as those mentioned in this section are presently dealt with one by one, as they occur, and in a pragmatic way, but the conditions are hardly satisfactory for the members over a long period of time. A better co-ordination and equality of access will eventually depend on a co-ordination on the national level, involving public authorities as well as the organisations concerned.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of regional centres for the development of adult education basically follows the historical pattern of Danish adult education: local initiatives which receive public support. In some respects, however, it contributes to a new outlook.

First, the concept of adult education is broadened from the traditional notion of "general, liberal, non-credit" and now - in the pragmatic approach of the centres - is taken to mean all organised educational activity in which an adult engages, be it formal or non-formal, credit or non-credit.

Secondly, the natural affiliation with the social, cultural, and labour market sectors is taken for granted, again in a pragmatic way, i.e. by the inclusion of personnel from these sectors in the further training programme of the centres.

Thirdly, by bringing together under one umbrella and occasionally under one roof educators and leaders from the various branches of adult education, the centres contribute to their feeling of identity and status as adult educators. This can be expected to lead to a strengthening of the status of adult education - which is again a necessary precondition for higher priority in the politically governed allocation of finances.

Fourthly, the centres as instruments of co-operation make it easier to carry out more specific, co-ordinated projects or campaigns of adult education, designed to solve current community or social problems.

Fifthly, the network of centres provide an instrument for relevant research in close connection with practical activities.

Finally - and important in the eyes of the author - the centres can contribute to a new way of thinking by focusing on the adult learner as the basic "agent of change" for whom the various institutions, organisations, study centres, courses, etc. are instruments in a lifelong learning process. Bottlenecks and barriers can be defined and gradually removed, and new instruments devised on a pragmatic basis.

The regional centres represent, on a small scale so far, one step in the direction of a comprehensive view on adult education. In Danish tradition, the local and decentralised initiative is considered all-important. An undoubtedly necessary central co-ordination of adult education into a comprehensive structure does not necessarily lead to a centralisation of initiative or uniformity of approach.

VI

INDEPENDENT LEARNING IN THE POST-COMPULSORY SECTOR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

by
Jennifer Rogers

INTRODUCTION

It is easy for the enthusiastic adult educationist to overlook the fact that learning is essentially a personal achievement and one that the majority of people prefer to pursue privately. All the indications are that the amount of learning going on in classes and groups in Britain is small by comparison with the amount adults undertake on their own: the independent learners could easily outnumber the formal students ten times over. This paper is about those independent adult learners: who they are, what resources and professional help are available to them, and how their learning could be made more enjoyable and efficient.

It must be said at once that there is hardly any statistical or research evidence which can give unequivocal answers on these points. First, it is difficult to be precise about what constitutes independent learning. Probably the most useful definition is that a piece of independent learning is one where the subject, objectives, methods and pace are essentially planned by the learner himself. A class attender, on the other hand, gives responsibility for much of this to a tutor. Independent learners and class attenders are not, of course, mutually exclusive categories. Many independent operators will also make occasional use of courses and tutors as part of a larger scheme of self-planned learning.

In a Canadian study designed to find out how many "highly deliberate efforts to learn" were made by a very small sample of adults, Allen Tough(1) asked his subjects how many "learning projects" a year they attempted. A learning project was simply defined as:

> "...a major, highly deliberate effort to gain certain knowledge or skill (or to change in some other way). Some learning projects

> are efforts to gain new knowledge, insight, or understanding. Others are attempts to improve one's skill or performance, or to change one's attitudes or educational reactions. Others involve efforts to change one's overt behaviour to break a habit."

To count as a "learning project" in Tough's research the effort had to take seven hours occurring in a six-month period. Within these inevitably arbitrary limits, he discovered that almost every one of his subjects undertook "at least one or two major learning efforts a year, and some individuals undertake as many as fifteen or twenty." The median is eight learning projects a year, involving as much as two thousand hours' work. Most interestingly, about three-quarters of Tough's subjects planned their learning projects entirely on their own, bearing out the hint of some earlier American research by Johnstone and Rivera(2) who discovered that eighty per cent of all learning projects were self-planned in areas like practical skills. It is clear that the sum total of adult learning cannot possibly be equated with the sum total of student hours in formal educational situations.

It is impossible even so to make global estimates of how many independent learners there are in Britain. "Education" can be roughly measured by gathering statistics from enrolment cards, registers, or finance departments. "Learning is measured, and then often unsatisfactorily, only by specialised and intensive socio-psychological enquiry." Independent learners leave few convenient traces of their activities when they buy books and magazines, visit museums, join clubs, use libraries or follow educational broadcasts. The motives, educational backgrounds and needs of people who engage in these natural but important activities, remain for the most part shadowy and often unrecognised both by independent learners themselves and by those supplying many of the resources on which they rely.

It is certain, however, that the need to learn is universal in adults, urgently aroused by curiosity, vocational and social change, parenthood, by the desire for examination credit and intellectual stimulus, by the need for aesthetic and physical expression or by wanting to come to terms with oneself and others. To satisfy such needs most learners will cast around quite freely, some more effectively and purposefully than others, for any of the learning resources which the community can offer. It is with some of these resources and the accessibility, attractiveness, quantity and quality of the help they can give the independent learner that we are concerned.

I. FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education remains the only sector of the British system not to have undergone massive redevelopment in the last forty years. The result is a service obliged by lack of money to operate on traditional assumptions which effectively exclude large numbers of the adult population.

Even those who could be well satisfied by conventional classes may find it difficult to enrol. With a few exceptions, independent learners are neither courted nor recognised as a breed. Even the most progressive institutes begin the great majority of their courses in September and move in weekly two-hour stages to an April finish. Shared school premises are still the norm, so evening classes continue to outweigh anything which can be offered during the day. Thus commuters with long and tiring journeys to work may leave their offices before the city centre classes start but arrive home after the beginning of the local ones; people with irregular hours or occasional evening shifts will not be able to make weekly dates for a class; mothers of infant children will seldom find the necessarily lavish crèche and play group accommodation; older children and their parents are rarely encouraged to join the same classes. Many people only have free time in the early morning, in their lunch break, or on Sundays, but with the exception of a few pockets of urban enterprise they will find little on offer then.

There are often other disincentives to potential learners; unsuitable, unattractive school buildings, time-consuming and complicated enrolment procedures, limited curricula and irritating inter-agency restrictive practices. Formal adult education is marked, too, by its modest public impact. One survey(3) revealed that forty per cent of the population did not know where to obtain particulars of classes and sixty per cent could not recall seeing any recent publicity. In a small study at Keele eighty-five per cent of people in two villages on the University's doorstep did not know about its adult education classes.

One in twenty adults enrol yearly for classes. The typical attender is female, reasonably prosperous (even though fees are low), young-middle-aged and has had at least a little extended education. The proportion of attenders may rise to one in ten in unusually well-endowed or energetically cultivated areas, but still comes nowhere near matching Sweden's one in three, or the increasingly central importance of adult education in many other European countries.

Under-resourcing is at the root of almost all the difficulties of British adult education. The amount of money allocated remains at a minute one per cent of the education budget. The number of full-time professionals has not increased significantly since 1963 and there is still no career structure to speak of. Financial rewards for the work are slender, consumable expenditure strictly limited: most Adult Education Centres have generally felt little of the benefit from developments in educational technology. It is not surprising, then, that most adult educationists have felt obliged to concentrate for survival on the students they know and understand, rather than to attempt the diffuse, difficult and demanding task of seeking out the independent learner.

However, there are a few recent significant growth points, which show what can happen when there is determination to provide for client groups other than those suited by traditional class provision. Several Adult Education Centres have been experimenting over the last few years with "workshops" of various kinds. The useful term "workshop" has unfortunately become as vague as it is modish, but some or all of these features always distinguish it: the emphasis is on a range of activities; the students essentially decide for themselves how they will spend their time - no "course" is involved; whole families can attend; staff play a "resource consultant" rather than a conventional teaching role. Several Centres have tried modest experiments with this idea, mostly in "Saturday workshops" where parents and young children can paint, make music, sew, sculpt, model clay and junk, as they please. The flexible self-programming approach of the workshop is therefore likely to attract those who prefer to learn independently but who may, nevertheless, want to make occasional use of the Adult Education resources, including tutors.

One of its most developed applications can be found at the Central Wandsworth Institute, London. For several years the Institute had run "Family Workshops" on week-days - playgroup and crèche combined with freely-offered crafts activities. In the summer of 1973 this idea was boldly extended to a six-week full-time programme. Tickets were sold daily, children had to be accompanied by at least one adult, and an extremely wide variety of art, crafts and sports activities were on offer, plus talks, discussions and drama. The programme was enormously successful with up to three hundred people, including fathers and pensioners, attending daily.

Most interestingly, the organiser, Mike Cutts, noted what happened when people were allowed to plan their own learning:(4)

> "The appetite for work on behalf of both parents and children was astounding. Given the chance of working at their own pace, people showed how capable they were of making their own plans for the day, often trying many things and leaving in the afternoon with armloads of produce ...
> Several ideas were initiated by students, and the variety of offerings was replenished by allowing students to contribute schemes. To this extent the workshop was a skill exchange. When

one considers how many of those attending were experienced mothers, playgroup leaders or other professional people, one realises how valuable it is to take the teacher out of the centre of such an enterprise. The teaching staff were totally involved, finding those in need of help ... but rarely did we have to demand everyone's attention or lead groups."

"Learning by Appointment" schemes put a different emphasis on helping individuals to learn. Only six of these schemes are operating full scale in Britain, all of them based in Further Education Colleges. The most complex runs at Napier College, Edinburgh. All a potential student needs to do is to telephone for an appointment. The scheme depends almost entirely on programmed instruction - both commercial and college designed versions are available. (The easing of copyright restrictions should eventually lead to greater use of television and tape-slide material.) Tutors can be on hand, again by appointment, to counsel on choice of programme and subject matter. The scope is extensive - about eight hundred and fifty programmes ranging from "The Use of Metric Units in Construction" to "Modern Japanese" and "How to Write Effective Reports".

The Learning by Appointment Centre consists of one large room in the College, and includes a full scale language laboratory. Students also have access to all the College facilities - indeed one woman joined specifically to be able to borrow the College skeleton for her home-study. Fees are moderate and flexible.

The essence of the idea is that the student works at his own pace and time. The Centre Director feels that as a result many people are attracted who would normally either struggle on alone or would give up altogether. A high percentage are also people in senior positions who must learn quickly for urgent professional reasons and whose demanding, erratic work hours would normally exclude them altogether from adult education.

In 1972/73, the Centre had five hundred and fifty students who between them put in sixty thousand hours' work - on a crude sum, considerably more each than the average for conventional adult education classes and exceeding the total for an average-sized Institute, suggesting that the pace of conventionally-run adult education may prove too gentle for many learners. Learning by Appointment may also be attracting those to whom the benefits of group support seem dubious and who would rather work through a well-tested programmed course than risk exposure to the widely varying standards of live teachers.

Wandsworth Institute and Napier College are dealing with totally different types of clientele and subject matter, but both show ways in which independent learners and adult education may be plugged in to each other, the one an informal club for families but with learning very definitely its raison-d'être, the other a teaching machine for the high-powered and highly motivated.

"Centerprise" is a voluntary organisation in an unfashionable and unprosperous part of East London. It runs an excellent and enormously successful children's bookshop, a coffee bar, playgroup, advice centre, local press and silkscreen workshop. It is also, in a still rudimentary way, a "Learning Exchange".

In Deschooling Society, Ivan Illich envisages "learning webs" through which those who want to learn are matched with those who want to teach.(5) In February 1973, two young Centerprise workers announced a learning exchange through local newsletters, churches and voluntary organisations, drawing, in a few months, over a thousand responses. Some were tutors, most were would-be learners wanting to know how to lay bricks, play the guitar, read and write, join a pensioners' sewing circle, clip poodles and much else. Except for musicians, tutors did not want to be paid.

This Centerprise experiment raises many questions to which it is too early to expect answers. Much as one may sympathise with Illich's view that professions are conspiracies against the public interest, the importance of professionalism cannot be denied; how will learners be protected from charlatans or incompetents? Will clients accept that what is being offered is essentially unlike ordinary, accountable adult education? Even so, the most significant feature of Centerprise is surely the considerable response the project has drawn from potential learners in the community.

The schemes described here are by no means unique in Britain; even some of the apparently novel features of Centerprise are duplicated, for instance, in adult literacy teaching schemes in many parts of the country where volunteer tutors and students can be put in touch through something very like a series of rather specialised learning exchanges. Many colleges and centres will allow (though not exactly encourage) independent learners to use language laboratory and workshop facilities at off-peak times; the informality of the Wandsworth workshop can be seen even more dramatically in the activities of many young radical community development workers.

However, most of this work is thinly scattered. The people who organise it have started by asking themselves what is still an unusual set of questions: "What learners might there be in our community?" "What do they want and need?", and "How ought we to respond?" These are questions which can have profoundly disturbing answers for adult education since they place all the potential learners in the community at the centre of attention rather than that loyal five per cent who are well-satisfied with traditional types of provision.

II. LIBRARIES

The British population is richly provided with libraries. Even the most remote village will normally be visited by a mobile library; people living in towns of modest size can often choose between a well-provided central library with a reference section and their own local branch service. Book stocks of 40,000 are not at all unusual. A complex inter-library loan scheme operates, and the whole service, though financed out of rates and taxes, is free at the point of borrowing.

Furthermore, over the last ten to fifteen years there have been striking changes in professional practice. Librarians have now totally abandoned any vestiges of the old nineteenth century role of book custodian whose precious stock could only be handed out reluctantly to an undeserving public. Modern librarians must expect to be community workers, information-scientists and psychologists, as well as media and reprographic technologists.

The physical appearance of libraries has been transformed. New libraries are often architecturally distinguished in their own right. Even in the old florid libraries the interior is normally well decorated and entirely open-plan. Borrowers no longer have to show their tickets to be allowed entry - anyone may come in to browse. Joining the library has been simplified, ticket issue considerably streamlined and sometimes computerised. One plastic plate per member for up to six books on any number of visits is now common, with no disapproving distinction between "fiction" and "non-fiction" borrowing. Stock itself is no longer restricted to books. Many libraries also keep photographs, archives, play-sets, wall charts, maps, plans, original and reproduction paintings, music scores, records, tapes, natural history specimens, films, film-strips, slides, video cassettes, microfilm and models, and have semi-private "carrels" where these can be studied.

Some libraries are also experimenting, like adult educationists, with ways of attracting the non-members, and perhaps the non-readers too. Delivery services to the hospitalised, housebound, and incarcerated compete for the librarian's time with literacy schemes, public meetings and exhibitions.

Libraries, then, are accessible, their stocks extensive and varied. Entering them is a good deal simpler and more alluring than it used to be. Such a large, well-known and free local information store is certain to be one of the first places to which an independent learner would look, especially since print is still the dominant learning medium in our society.

The general picture of library use is clear enough. Up to half the population believes it belongs to a library and may claim to make some use, however casual, of library services. Up to a third actually have current membership tickets. Those who come to borrow books are also the most frequent users of reference and periodical services. More women than men are members. The young, the elderly, the better-off, the better-educated and those who live less than a mile away are most likely to make heavy use of the library. Even so, as several studies have pointed out(6), no particular type or social class predominates in actual numbers. Extraordinarily few adults are actively hostile to the library; its presence and services are reasonably well-known in the community. Since there is no socio-economic group unrepresented among library users the library is of crucial importance as an educational resource. As one report points out:

> "The public library, given the right conditions would seem to be neutral ground in which all, or at least most people feel at ease. This is something that can be said of very few other public institutions ..."(7)

The difficulty comes in establishing a detailed estimate of how far libraries are being used by independent adult learners, especially those whose "learning projects" are informal, apparently disorganised, entirely unrelated to traditional education, and may even be thought of by the reader himself as "just a hobby". Several studies have shown that about ten per cent of users claim to be borrowing a book for study or reference. A bigger proportion, up to a third, have specific books or types of book in mind, but it is impossible to tell how many of these are thrillers and romances, and how many are what some reports sternly describe as "purposive". None of the available statistics give longitudinal studies of what individual readers borrow in any one year. With computerisation this would be a comparatively simple task, but delicacy about "invasion of privacy" has so far prevented such work being attempted.

It is clear that of the 650 million books borrowed each year about one-third are non-fiction. It is clear, too, that the majority of readers tell researchers that they are looking for "any book of interest". Many researchers thus draw the conclusion that the library is viewed as a source of recreation, that is, "not seriously", or "not educationally".

The trouble with this assumption is that no-one has questioned readers closely on where their borrowed books might fit into a scheme of private learning. One man's "serious" book on social anthropology might be another's light reading. Statistics showing that fiction-issues predominate, with their implication that readers are looking for "escapism" may also conceal the borrower whose independent learning goal is to come to terms with Dickens, Trollope, Eliot and the Brontes. A book classified as "recreational" may be a tough analysis of a sophisticated skill like weaving or pottery, perhaps more demanding reading than a simply-written local history or an introduction to astronomy.

Clearly the likelihood is that the British public library system is being used on a massive scale by independent learners of all sorts. A probably modest guess, based on a tangle of discrepant statistics, might suggest that independent learners constitute about twenty per cent of all library users - that is three and a half million people a year. It is impossible to say with any certainty how far the learning needs of these individuals are being met. Supply creates demand, and librarians do not at the moment supply an overtly educational service to individuals. Librarians are not trained adult educationalists. They are experts in information-retrieval, trained to help readers negotiate the increasing complexities of the catalogues. Virtually none are trained to help individuals plan their learning. A "Reader's Adviser" could give advice about where to find a book but would regard it as beyond his brief to probe the motivation of the enquirer.

Some librarians are now beginning to think that more specific help should be given. A Council of Europe symposium on "Public Libraries and Permanent Education" felt that libraries should employ specialist educational "animateurs":

> "The library staff and the educational advisers ... should in particular support those who have started studying independently, for instance following TV or radio educational courses, correspondence courses, and other more or less isolated persons or groups within the community ...
>
> "It was stressed that the public libraries are possibly the only places where these persons can apply in order to solve their problems, and that the public library thus has a great responsibility in identifying the needs of these people and following up this identification as closely as possible".(8)

Libraries are, in any case, moving close to creating the demand simply by providing an increasing variety of learning resources. One London library, for instance, tempts potential language learners by issuing a special pamphlet describing forty-five courses (records and books) in languages ranging from Afrikaans and Algerian Arabic to Vietnamese and Zulu. The progress of those who borrow such courses must be a matter of at least professional curiosity to a librarian. It only seems a matter of time before curiosity in such cases becomes translated into responsibility and responsibility to active intervention.

III. CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION

There are just over a hundred correspondence organisations in Britain. About thirty of them voluntarily belong to a government-sponsored accreditation scheme. They offer subjects ranging from banking insurance and medicine to English literature and public speaking, from degree-level work to non-examination leisure pursuits. In some professions, correspondence is virtually the only method by which qualifications can be obtained.

Only one organisation, the Open University (famous for using broadcasting but actually making greater use of correspondence), is State-financed. With exceptions like the National Extension College (a non-profit making trust) most are commercially run, many of them third generation family businesses. They deal each year with between 600,000 and one million independent adult learners.

At its best, correspondence education is an ideal support for the isolated learner. Courses can be started at any time. Shift workers, the housebound or the shy can arrange their learning to suit themselves; carefully designed printed material allows the learner to assess his progress and to work at thorough understanding of one stage before going on to the next. If radio, television and occasional face-to-face teaching can be combined with print, a powerful force for learning is made available.

But until the advent of the Open University, correspondence education generally had an indifferent reputation. Wastage rates as high as ninety per cent were not unknown and even organisations which tried very hard to keep their students might lose about half their initial enrolment. The general British suspicion of commercially-run adult education did not help, especially when such suspicions were inflamed by occasional newspaper reports exposing the very few colleges offering dubious qualifications for sale.

Even with the best of intentions education by post is subject to unique stresses. As with any other kind of adult education students may overestimate their own motivation, stamina and aptitude. Isolated adults may lose heart unnecessarily soon, thus making the quality of the printed materials and the calibre of the written counselling all-important and some face-to-face tuition an essential supplement to the work the student does on his own.

In most of these important respects it is almost inevitable that the correspondence colleges will fall short of the ideal. The Open University has well over £10 million of government money to spend a year but still finds it difficult to make ends meet. Although ordinary correspondence colleges are almost all commercial organisations, they operate among a population accustomed to getting its education free or cheap out of rates and taxes and therefore reluctant to pay "realistic" fees for courses. Many colleges appear to be short of capital and do not show handsome returns on investment.

The symptoms of this are fairly obvious. The Open University's "course units" are professionally designed, graphically sophisticated with lavish use of colour inks. A few other organisations also take enormous trouble with presentation of their materials. But the majority of the material consists of page after page of grey print. Some is still spirit-duplicated and much of it remains unrevised, sometimes for decades. The use of tapes or the telephone is rare because it is considered too difficult to cost.

Perhaps more serious, few colleges have understood the virtues and significance of a "Systems" approach. Most courses are innocent of well-articulated educational objectives; many could as well take the form of lecture notes or books. Self-checking devices, suggestions for activities, projects, research (all of which distinguish the Open University and National Extension College type of course) are conspicuously absent. The duty and necessity of training correspondence tutors is now taken seriously by the Open University(9) but rarely attempted by other institutions. A few colleges have experimented with modest face-to-face encounters, but the network of local counsellors and summer schools built in to the Open University system are clearly too elaborate and expensive for most colleges. As a result of all this, drop-out rates are still generally high and the total numbers enrolled smaller than might be expected.

Since correspondence education is difficult to run well commercially, and since it is also an area which the State has mostly ignored, it is not surprising that many independent learners whose needs might be effectively met by correspondence are left to their own devices. Ann Ladbury, a well-known and popular television teacher of dressmaking received such a torrent of queries from viewers of her last series that she decided to start a correspondence club. Even with five thousand members an increase in postal charges meant that she could not afford to carry on (though she still receives up to forty queries a week). This example could be duplicated in almost every area where public advice and instruction is offered - not just through broadcasting but through magazines and books as well. The correspondence colleges are currently dealing almost exclusively with people who want qualifications - either straightforward "O" and "A" levels and degrees or professional credits in banking, medicine, law and insurance. The "pre-beginners" level in traditional subjects, the academic but non-examination course and the leisure areas are apparently unattractive to almost everyone providing correspondence education. Another role for State enterprise, perhaps, with an "Open College" to feed and extend the Open University.

IV. PUBLISHING

The British addiction to reading is strong. In 1973, 35,254 books were published, one of the highest totals in the world and still rising. The 650 million books borrowed from libraries have already been mentioned; 3,000 different magazines are available - so many that a person who does not regularly read some kind of journal must be a rarity. More newspapers are read per head in Britain than anywhere else, except Japan.

It is only common sense to assume that even the material informally presented in magazines and newspapers is likely to be of some importance to many independent learners. Why else, for example, would about half a million people be buying gardening magazines (of which there are sixteen different titles)? Presumably these are readers already knowledgeable in the subject looking for more learning material, however casually and unsystematically presented and sought.

Some recent publishing developments have, however, been aimed specifically at independent learners. One is the "part-publication", a hybrid magazine-cum-specialised encyclopaedia, heavily promoted through skilful television advertising and sold across the newsagent's counter. Each part looks exactly like a magazine but has a chronological, alphabetical or "start to finish" structure which promises the reader an eventual comprehensive guide to subjects like history of the twentieth century, natural history and pop music, among many others. Single issues are cheap but the complete set, running sometimes over two years, might cost up to £30.

The best part-publications have undertaken a careful analysis of the knowledge and skills required and have conveyed the resulting step-by-step exposition to the reader through luxuriant use of well-researched text, colour photographs and diagrams on a scale not possible to an ordinary publisher with much smaller print-runs. Not all have reached such high standards. Some have commissioned copy from experts of impeccable pedigree but have not been ruthless enough with the clotted and technical prose which sometimes results. A few have gone from one stage to another without noticing the omission of vital intermediate explanation. Market research in the industry, working on conservative estimates, has established that by mid-1973 nearly one in five adults in Britain had bought at least one issue of a part-work. Roughly half these buyers are "down-market" - untypical users of libraries, Adult Education Centres and bookshops.

Effects are difficult to gauge. Certainly the enormous drop-off from initial sales may represent thousands of disappointed readers. On the other hand, like the best type of popular television serial, good part-works create palpable but unmeasurable stirs of interest. It is certainly true that the appearance of "Golden Hands" (textile crafts) was an event provoking a discernible degree of excitement and informal discussion among women. Nothing so skilfully promoted, so comprehensive, so accurate in diagnosing difficulties or so creative in ideas and presentation had ever been published before. The swollen demand for yarns and equipment reported by retailers was paralleled by increased interest in the same subjects at many libraries and Adult Education Centres.

Formal publishing has not undergone anything like such dramatic change, though there are some projects specifically directed at independent learners. A series published by W.H. Allen called "Made Simple", covers topics like Office Practice, Child Care, and Electronic Computers, and the much more extensive "Teach Yourself" series published by Hodder and Stoughton has two hundred titles, some accompanied by tapes, covering topics from languages and carpentry to soccer and Data Processing. "Teach Yourself" volumes, in particular, are cheap, well-known, and widely available, and would certainly be the first source of help for many. Little is known about the buyers of such books except that they tend to be young and that about half may also be undergoing a formal course of education. It can be said with certainty, however, that both series are bought in large numbers: annual sales of any one title might well be over twenty thousand, with the whole series selling about two million a year.

The "Teach Yourself" and "Made Simple" series are conventionally designed and have no pretensions to rigorous educational purity. The books, written by experts and carefully edited, are produced on traditional lines. The "Readers Digest" approach is different. The range of books is comparatively small but the books themselves are fat, long in gestation and are produced with print orders and design specifications more lavish even than those of a part-publication - some books contain as many as seven thousand drawings. A novel method of preparation has evolved in which journalists do the bulk of the writing in consultation with experts. The books are available in bookshops and a few department stores, but the main crop of sales comes from the rather strident advertising sent out on carefully built mail-order lists: Readers Digest are "disappointed" at anything less than 300,000 copies sold and sales of two million have been known.

The firm has the typically horrified response of popularisers at the thought of being "educational". In fact, however, their guides to gardening, cookery, family health, household repairs, do-it-yourself and car maintenance are exceptionally good learning value: unambiguous, honest, reliable and comprehensive, the best of them a model of what all teaching material ought to be. They are consciously tailor-made for adults wishing to learn entirely on their own, and mail-order marketing is taking them well beyond the very small minority of the adult population who enter bookshops.

Direct mail-order and part-publication seem promising ways of teaching and helping independent learners at a time when "real" bookshops are closing down and chain booksellers are devoting more space and capital to toys and stationery. One cartoon set in a bookshop had a puzzled assistant saying to a client "A book? Yes, I think we did sell one of those last week". The days when a gentleman published for himself and his friends seem to be over and much that is intellectually excellent may suffer as a result. On the other hand, recent positive trends which bring high-quality, superbly designed and stimulating book material into ordinary homes may more than compensate for the loss.

Even so there are huge gaps, particularly in the cognitive area. Transformation in educational publishing for young readers in and out of school has not been accompanied by similar projects in adult material. Presumably most publishers think the less-sophisticated adult market too speculative a proposition, even though many will confess that they hear in large numbers from parents who are avid readers of the handsome and simply-written books their children bring home from school.

V. BROADCASTING

Of all the potential resources for learning, broadcasting is the only one to which magical powers have been ascribed. The influence of the medium was at one time so seriously overestimated that some people believed exposure to a broadcast would make learning so effortless that the learner himself would hardly notice what was happening. Broadcasts are still attacked or defended with a vigorous pungency which indicates that exaggerated belief in their power is even now widespread. The broadcaster's pleas of neutrality and innocence have to some extent been vindicated by research. In many important ways people seem little affected by television or radio. Reinforcement of existing attitudes seems the common reaction. A television programme may fan a dormant glow of interest, it does not often create the initial spark; it cannot transform a racist into a tender-minded liberal nor will it turn the placid and well-integrated to violence and crime. Subtler changes are more difficult to assess. Even in the most formal type of educational broadcast no satisfactory means of evaluation has yet been devised. The assessment practised by broadcasters themselves remains for the most part crudely head-counting, impressionistic and subjective. The motivation of such enormous audiences, their attitudes, their existing knowledge, and their lives when not giving possibly fleeting attention to programmes escape proper measurement.

The sheer insistent quantity of broadcasting is overwhelming: over 200 hours weekly of television (BBC and IBA) and nearly 500 hours of networked radio. Much of this may well serve the same occasional servicing functions for independent learners as equivalent material in newspapers, books and magazines. The occasional distinguished documentary watched by 15 millions on drug addiction or homelessness seems to produce some national "consciousness-raising"; subjects like archaeology or antiques can be semi-permanently popularised; magazine programmes do their uneven best to inform and educate on current affairs. At best, broadcasting may well fulfil its own boast that it makes the good popular and the popular good.

Both broadcasting organisations, however, have an agreed formula to distinguish between general and educational output. Time has blurred the sharpness of the formula since the general departments now make large numbers of expensive series which, with their beautiful accompanying books and "serious" subjects, must look undisguisedly "educational" to the audience. However, the formula still provides a useful working definition: "Educational programmes for adults are arranged in series and planned in consultation with appropriate educational bodies to help viewers towards a progressive mastery or understanding of some skill or body of knowledge".

Perhaps because of this emphasis on consultation and a series approach, broadcasting does have unique attractions and advantages for independent learners. Programmes can be received in the comfort of their own homes. Broadcasters are trusted in a way that educators are not. The range of subjects is enormous: from professional updating to leisure interests, languages and community affairs. It should be possible to engage the best contributors nationally or internationally. Difficult processes can be easily demonstrated; documentary techniques can bring rich substance to academic disciplines. If information is too complex to give in programmes it can be included in books, records, or correspondence texts.

In practice, of course, it does not work out so smoothly. The educational broadcasters on all three channels continue to work on slender budgets and to inhabit largely "ghetto" time slots which can only draw minority audiences. A series aimed at the educationally underprivileged may be broadcast at times and on channels unattractive to the target audience. Producers understandably anxious to make their programmes "good broadcasting" on all three channels can easily under- or over-estimate how much isolated learners can absorb: the one-way nature of the medium and the varied character of the audience imposes its own problems here. Television tends to fall into superficiality when presenting ideas. Then, too, multimedia effort has its own built-in frustrations deriving from the different time scales needed for print and programmes.

It is because they are all too conscious of these imperfections that educational broadcasters have tried so hard to find ways of assisting the independent learner. Many series have been supplemented by matched correspondence courses with formal and informal assessments on offer. Notes, study guides, slides, workcards, tapes, records, booklists and most frequently books, reinforce and extend the programmes. Where it is suitable to do so, the broadcasters encourage field organisers to put on classes run in conjunction with educational series. In some subjects, particularly languages, a learner might thus have a complex package of resources available: programmes (sometimes both television and radio), book, record, correspondence course and local class.

Little has been discovered in depth about the effectiveness of all this material. The BBC has become almost by accident a major publishing house and sales of 40,000 copies in one year of a support book for an adult education series would not be at all unusual, which must say something about the intentions of the buyers, even if their achievements remain speculative. Some series seem to touch a special nerve of popular interest. "Yoga for Health" (IBA) has not only sold over half a million copies to date, it also directly stimulated an overwhelming demand for adult education classes: student enrolments of 150 and more in one centre alone have followed the first appearance of the series in a region.

The extremely small quantity of research into the characteristics of the audience show it to be, like the clientele for Adult Education Centres and libraries, weighted heavily towards those already well-educated. Even a series like "Living Decisions" (BBC Radio) designed to attract adults with no qualifications has in fact drawn professional people and others with better than average educational experience. Experiment with diagnosing particular rather than general needs (for instance, non-readers, the deaf), working through the communications network of other organisations with new production styles and subjects, may eventually bring a breakthrough. This could carry educational opportunities more evenly through the population, with broadcasting as a major element.

VI. CONCLUSION: HELPING INDEPENDENT LEARNERS

These are all true stories:

An English businessman married to a Frenchwoman finds his French inadequate for proper conversation with her family. The only time he can set aside for study occurs in February and he wants to be speaking fluent French by the summer. His local Adult Education Centre can do nothing; "all our classes started a term ago". He buys an expensive tape course but is quickly discouraged by the mass of material and his own apparent lack of progress.

A retired builder digs up some intriguing pottery fragments in his garden. The local museum identifies it as Samian ware but is unable to help such an "unscholarly" enquirer any further. He is advised to visit the Roman Collection in the museum and then to read a weighty reference book not immediately available in his library (though the museum has a copy in its library).

A woman anxious to learn traditional techniques of colour-knitting finds that family and friends cannot help. Knitting is not taught in local classes. Magazines and part-works give charts but not the vital, and quickly-acquired pieces of preliminary information. Trial and error, mostly error, produce a disappointing garment full of holes.

A small private dressmaking school in Central London receives so many enquiries about correspondence courses that it has to issue a special pamphlet explaining why it can only offer face-to-face tuition.

A young woman just married and with a neglected domestic education buys the first two instalments of a part-work on cooking, but finds too much basic knowledge assumed and goes back to muddling along.

A newly-appointed trade-union official needing to learn how to run meetings has to wait several months before he can go on a training course. In the meantime he spends many exhausting hours making unnecessarily lengthy notes from theoretical works on group dynamics borrowed from the local library.

These not-very-sad and commonplace tales of failure could, of course, be matched by stories of outstanding success. If Allen Tough's sample was at all typical, many independent learners further their learning projects by highly skilled exploitation of friends, colleagues, professional advice agencies, books, newspapers and formal education. From what is now well-established about learning activity, it is most likely that such people are a small minority already privileged by their better education, their self-confidence, responsible jobs, and their knowledge of what resources there are and how to use them. Even these people will not always find the going smooth - much time will be wasted, the books or advice they need may simply not exist.

Each individual has his own learning needs and society has to try responding to them in a much less gross, marketing manner than hitherto. Improvements are needed at three levels:

1) Improving the System: more flexible levels and resources, more curriculum development

One of the many excellent recent changes in school education has been the appearance of "curriculum development projects".

Skilfully led by teams of professionals, thousands of ordinary teachers have investigated needs, methods and resources in their subjects. The result has been a massive change in the way subjects like mathematics, humanities, science and technology are taught. One of the secrets of success is that not only have the virtues of rethinking been preached, but the materials necessary to feed the new approach have also been produced, evaluated, and well-publicised, with national material extended by local effort. The changes generally have been in the direction of more small groups and individual student learning, made possible by the standardisation of flexible teaching materials.

Except for the Open University, no equivalent investment has been made in adult education. Dressmaking teachers all over the country continue laboriously to prepare their own demonstration cards on "How to Make a Buttonhole". Individual sociology lecturers photocopy the same "interesting" article in a colour supplement. Tutors in the same institution may have identical collections of sound tapes and similar piles of study notes. Rival correspondence colleges offer similar courses. In the meantime, independent learners make the best they can of widely-varying commercially published material.

If better-quality help were to be made available to independent learners, it would be essential to have more resources of a curriculum development type, generally available for sale or borrowing in part-work form, loose-leaf sets, correspondence courses, books, tapes and video cassettes. With suitable copyright arrangements a great deal could be cannibalised from existing print and non-book material. Much, however, would need to be specially designed. Crafts and home skills are already well-served by ordinary publishing, but even here there could be improvement if more were produced with the clarity of "Readers Digest" texts. In intellectual areas there are more gaps than solid achievements. In many subjects there is nothing at all for adults between the occasional piece of popular magazine journalism and a first level Open University text, or between a "Teach Yourself" book and a learned journal.

Production of such materials would obviously help independent learners, but equally it would release adult educationists from the idea that students must be taught one subject at one pace by one teacher who is the main provider of information. There would immediately be more flexible ways of managing a mixed-ability class.

Curriculum development might also be the first step towards providing a qualifications ladder especially for adults studying on their own. At present, people wanting general second-chance education are obliged to sit examinations and to use textbooks designed for adolescents. A successful handful of experiments with "O" and "A" level papers for mature students involving broadcasts and correspondence colleges still leaves largely the same gaps between the Open University and everything beneath. A series of curriculum development efforts and the interesting "software" it would probably generate could have far-reaching effects - not least on those adults who would buy and read the books without ever submitting themselves for assessment.

ii) Increased self-knowledge: learning to learn

Many educationists might agree with the director of one large correspondence college who maintains that if only all adults knew how to learn there would be no need for clumsy devices like teachers and correspondence colleges. Most of us pass through the education system without acquiring reliable knowledge on how to organise our own learning so that we can use books, take notes, memorise, practice and solve problems in the most effective possible way. Independent learners are at their most vulnerable when, no matter what their enthusiasm and aptitude, they cannot make skilful use of whatever resources they find.

Little wonder that the BBC television series "Use Your Head" sold 8,000 copies of its accompanying book in two weeks, that the course on how to study effectively offered by the National Extension College is one of their best sellers, and that courses on rapid reading and new study techniques provide fat livings for large numbers of management consultants who all report enraptured gratitude among their clientele for the eminently simple but liberating message they provide.

The long-term answer can only be found in the schools. In the short term, there should not be an Adult Education Centre in the land without its brief, intensive, constantly repeated "effective learning" course. This should include self-diagnosis sheets for students to find out the state of their own learning and strengths and weaknesses. Each centre would also be well stocked with books, records and taped versions of television and radio series on study techniques, which could be loaned, hired or sold to those who cannot attend courses.

iii) Better relationships between independent learners and learning resources

A girl interested in learning how to hold the yarn for jacquard knitting does not want a course in how to knit - she simply needs someone to give her a well-informed fifteen-minute demonstration. A man urgently wanting to improve his spoken French may need some tutorial help but also requires disinterested, skilled advice on the most appropriate method and resources for him: a consumer's advice approach to learning.

The need to provide free or cheap legal-cum-civic advice has been well-recognised in Britain, and Citizen's Advice Bureaux and, more recently, Neighbourhood Law Centres are reasonably well known and widely used social services. There is no equivalent information and advice service available for independent learners, though the duty to help adults learn is as pressing and as socially important as the need to provide them with reliable information on their welfare rights.

Embryonic and scattered versions of learning advice systems do exist. The John Lewis Partnership, a large London department store, has both Dressmaking and Knitting Advisers prominently placed to answer several hundred daily queries from customers. Some large Adult Education Centres have student advisers, but they help course-inclined learners, not the independent sort. Centerprise has its learning Exchange already described; popular magazines may each deal with up to 80,000 readers' queries annually. The Advisory Centre for Education has run "Education Shops" from department stores and holiday camps to answer questions from parents about their children's schooling. The Open University has its counselling and study-centre network. Satisfactory and efficient as all these efforts may be in their own terms, they go nowhere near answering the need for an independent, all-embracing, easily accessible national network of Learning Advice Centres. The basis for such a network already exists in the libraries and the adult education service. Libraries appear to hold no terrors for most of the population. Every town has a library service already well equipped to supply answers to a good many queries from potential learners, even though librarians at the moment are more interested in supplying the book than in the learning progress of the person who borrows it. Similarly, adult educationists know about adult learning, but are obliged by tradition and bureaucracy to plan for course attenders, not independent operators.

Ideally, every central library should have its Learning Adviser prominently placed in the reception area. He would be an adult educationist trained in both counselling and rudimentary librarianship and would have two main jobs. The first would be to help people plan their learning competently. The second would be to gather and disseminate information about resources for learning. In this way he could advise about the suitability of different methods (or even specific media, classes and institutions) in much the same way as a local consumer advice centre can help an uncertain buyer decide between the durability, price and safety of different washing machines. He would organise and administer a local "skill exchange" using the library's computer terminal and perhaps publish the result as an annual information directory. If ordinary library resources were the answer, they would be available on the spot. He, or colleagues, would spend at least part of his time in bookshops, schools, Adult Education Centres, youth clubs, but would also set up at places used by everyone, especially shopping centres, street markets and entertainment centres.

The basic resources and expertise for such a scheme already exist. The cost in recruiting, training and organising the personnel would seem modest by comparison with the gain to the whole community which would certainly result.

All conscientious adult educationists are concerned to attract a more representative range of students from their local communities. Much has already been done for groups of housewives, professional people, the elderly, non-readers, immigrants and many others. Adult education also has much to offer the independent learner yet so far almost nothing is available to those who will not or cannot join a class.

Independent-learning schemes could be organised in two interlocking ways. One could be a "Learning by Appointment" system, the second could be an extension of the workshop idea to cover craft, music, literary, language and physical education. Adult education agencies might also experiment with Project workshops where those wishing to make an independent, thesis-type study could find advice and help. Eight mature students at the University of Lancaster are currently working for first degrees on these lines in the "School of Independent Studies", and there seems no reason why the same idea should not be tried at a less hectic pace for adults in full-time jobs. Workshops could thus cater equally for the beginner weaver who only needs one visit to find out how to put on a warp and the nurse with shift duties who is mostly content with her BBC German course but needs occasional face-to-face instruction. Workshops and Learning by Appointment centres might attract people too shy, or too unsure about whether a subject is for them or not, to enrol for a formal course, just as they could retain the interest of students who find the pace of conventional classes too threatening or too slow.

These facilities could be, as far as possible, available any day at all times of the year but perhaps especially on Saturdays and Sundays. Each visit could be paid for separately with the option of a reduced price for several attendances. There would be no "enrolment"; students would be able to come and go as they pleased. By making the student responsible for his own learning, they would also encourage experiment in subject and method, unlike conventional classes which frequently result in over-dependent students. Fruitful exchange and dovetailing could occur between workshop and class students, especially if more short flexible courses were available throughout the year. Adult Education Centres might also put on special workshops at holiday centres to attract those who might like to learn something but are unsure what: a playgroup for adults.

Workshops which attempt to replicate conventional teaching are doomed. Students would need easy access to generous quantities of well-indexed, scrupulously prepared self-instruction material: books, tapes, slides, workcards, films and video cassettes, some of this perhaps generated by students themselves, most of it produced by the national curriculum development projects already described. Tutors would be recruited for their versatility and sensitivity to individuals. Some tailor-made accommodation would be necessary, but most workshops could use any large open space and more of this is available and underused in the community than is generally supposed - in industrial training-rooms, clinics, offices, as well as those long stretches of the year when straightforwardly educational quarters stand empty. Ingenious administrators would be needed, willing to find ways of costing learning that cannot be measured through courses and registers.

Clearly, the present adult education system would be overwhelmed by any serious attempt to provide for independent learners. There are many more of them than class attenders, and stimulating this need would almost certainly lead to greatly increased demand for more conventional courses.

To put all this into practice, two related changes of heart would be necessary: an adult education service which recognises its duties to independent learners, and a government willing to make radical departure from the typical finance policy of the past.

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VII

GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING SERVICES FOR ADULTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

by
Arthur Stock

In recent years there has been a phenomenal growth of guidance and counselling services in the United Kingdom. Such developments have frequently been the response of voluntary organisations to various specific needs which have either arisen or become identified in the last several years. In addition to these voluntary initiatives, central and local government have instituted advisory services related to their increased official responsibility and concern, particularly in such fields as employment, welfare and education. This pluralistic approach, and the resulting structures, have a long tradition in British society, and can be identified in other fields of provision.

Before examining in more detail this varied and complex network of services, it is necessary to consider in some detail the concepts involved. In short, a working definition of terms becomes desirable. There are three key words which appear repeatedly in any overview of the collected data: advice, guidance and counselling. At first sight, and indeed in practical working situations, it is not easy to compartmentalise these concepts in a rigid way as there is obviously considerable overlap. In a sense they represent a continuum, with pure bland non-subjective information giving at one end and highly interactive individualised case-work at the other. The motion which links all three together is that of "need in relation to change": usually persons or groups are seeking to make a change (or possibly having change forced upon them). Sometimes all they need is advice about the range of institutional or procedural choice put before them; sometimes they need a measure of guidance about the suitability or otherwise of a particular institution or procedure so as to have a better chance of compatibility and satisfactory outcome in relation to their particular need; sometimes it is necessary for another person to help them to identify their need, to sound out their goals, difficulties and potentialities, and then in relation to the individuals themselves, to counsel as to a particular choice of action, procedure or institution (or rather to enable the clients to take action for themselves).

It will thus be immediately apparent that the styles of operation and the assumption of responsibilities as between purely advisory services and purely counselling services are radically different. Much straightforward advisory work can be carried out by one-way presentations of information, for example - by display advertising, press and broadcast media and by correspondence and telephone answering - whereas counselling and even guidance necessitates some degree of interaction between the seeker and the helper. Correspondence and telephone as well as face-to-face communication can be employed in different guidance and counselling circumstances; but the need for several cycles of (say) answer, suggestion, feedback before effective guidance can take place requires more than a simple answer, display or listing as would often suffice in an advisory circumstance.

The generally growing opinion throughout the people-services in the United Kingdom is that more of all three styles are needed if society is to be healthy and dynamic, communities are to be supportive and stimulating and individuals are to live more full and useful lives.

Moreover where elementary advisory services have been instituted for some considerable time, the tendency is to evolve into more purposeful guidance work (e.g. in immediate post-school career services). Similarly formerly nominal guidance services (e.g. the Marriage Guidance Council) tend to move into more sophisticated counselling work, as society and life become more complex and difficult.

It is on a basis of these working hypotheses that this present study will proceed. It is in no way being suggested that these are accurate or even acceptable notions for all workers in this field, although consultation undertaken indicates that they are favourably regarded by informed opinion. It is also certainly true that this is a rapidly evolving area of provision, anxious to identify its proper functions and tasks rather than to be tied to rigid definitions or frames of reference.

I. ANALYSIS OF DATA

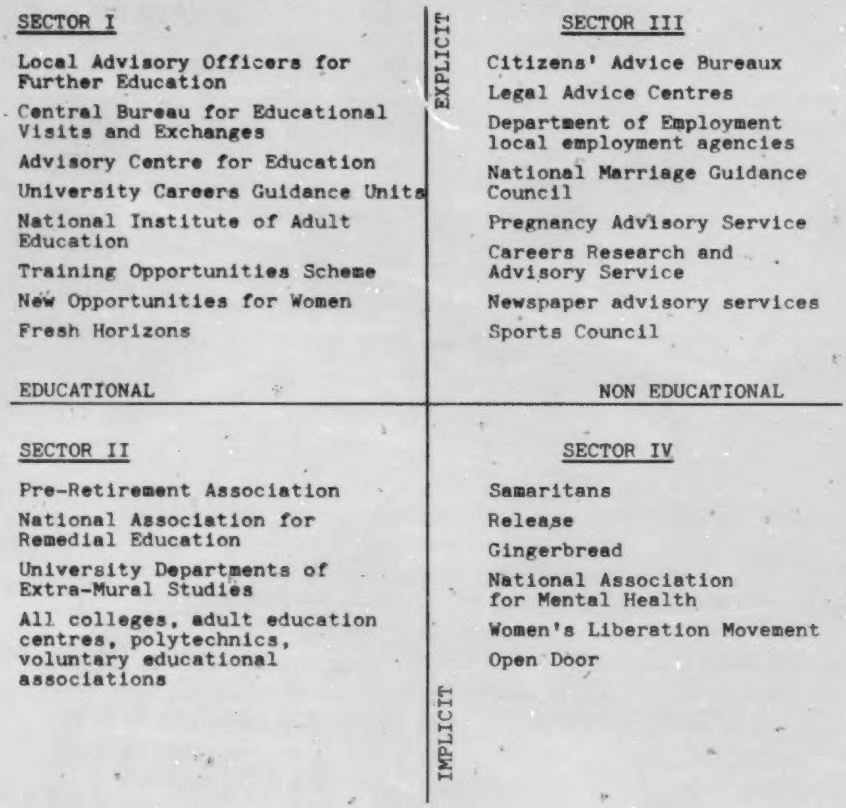
An analysis of the data here gathered (see appendix, page 178) suggests the usefulness of two specific dimensions:

i) educational v. non-educational
ii) explicit v. implicit (see diagram).

The advice, guidance, counselling "strata" of provision may also be present in any specific institution or service and might be considered as a third dimension.

Diagram

PARAMETERS FOR THE DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING SERVICES FOR ADULTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM



SECTOR I

- Local Advisory Officers for Further Education
- Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges
- Advisory Centre for Education
- University Careers Guidance Units
- National Institute of Adult Education
- Training Opportunities Scheme
- New Opportunities for Women
- Fresh Horizons

SECTOR III

- Citizens' Advice Bureaux
- Legal Advice Centres
- Department of Employment local employment agencies
- National Marriage Guidance Council
- Pregnancy Advisory Service
- Careers Research and Advisory Service
- Newspaper advisory services
- Sports Council

SECTOR II

- Pre-Retirement Association
- National Association for Remedial Education
- University Departments of Extra-Mural Studies
- All colleges, adult education centres, polytechnics, voluntary educational associations

SECTOR IV

- Samaritans
- Release
- Gingerbread
- National Association for Mental Health
- Women's Liberation Movement
- Open Door

The above few examples illustrate the wide distribution of agencies, several of which operate in all three modes of advice, guidance and counselling.

Sector I

The explicit/educational sector has shown enormous growth and development in recent years, although it could be argued that there has always been an implicit guidance and counselling role inherent in the process of teaching. The difference more recently has been the designation and appointment of careers guidance staff in secondary schools and colleges; also the development of second career "trial" courses (e.g. Fresh Horizons Course at the City Literary Adult College in London, and New Opportunities for Women Course at the Hatfield Polytechnic) for adults in various institutions. These specially designed programmes, with an intrinsic but explicit element of guidance will be described in detail in Section II.

Nevertheless the majority of guidance and counselling facilities for the adult public at large are associated with career choice. These are operated either jointly by educational and labour market agencies as in the case of school leavers, or entirely by the local offices of the Department of Employment in the case of adults. In this latter regard the recently instituted Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS), promoted and supported by the Department of Employment, is an interesting example. The education (or re-education) elements of the programme frequently take place at a district College of Further Education or at a Polytechnic; but the control of the programmes, their gearing to the needs of the labour market, and the financial disbursements to the trainee and the educational institution are entirely in the hands of the central government labour ministry (i.e. Department of Employment). This scheme - TOPS - has been projected fairly strongly to the public at large as being a "second chance" opportunity to take up skilled employment in various fields where there are staff shortages. Experience to date suggests that as well as providing the necessary training stimulus leading to successful employment, many of the student participants to the Scheme have discovered previously unsuspected confidence and abilities which have produced requests for continuing study opportunities. The necessary guidance for this second crucial stage of development tends to be rather haphazard, depending upon the resources of the educational establishment concerned, as the guidance facilities of the Department of Employment are directed solely towards the employment aspect.

Another labour-market/educational guidance operation within the direct responsibility of the Department of Employment is that of the Government Training Centres, for workers made redundant by technological change, the decline of certain industries, or by personal circumstances of health or other misfortune. These Centres (GTCs) concentrate on training for skilled or semi-skilled manual work in growing industries. Supportive grants equivalent to a working wage (plus limited travelling and subsistence allowances where appropriate) are given to adults accepted by GTCs for the various courses. Every effort is made to give guidance as to the choice of training both in terms of the employment possibilities and individual aptitudes. However, there has been some criticism of the limitations of this scheme in relation to the totality of a worker's life and concerns: the problems of re-housing, cultural immobility, extended family responsibilities all tend to militate against the easy operation of the programme especially in depressed areas with poor transport and social infrastructures. The vocational guidance and the subsequent training have not been designed to cope with these important problems which are often of paramount importance to the mature adult worker.

Again, there is a substantial amount of explicitly educational advice available relating to part-time programmes and courses available in evenings, or by day-release, block-release from work, or by "sandwich" programmes. That these advisory facilities are not more fully used may be due to the fact that there is no "as-of-right" educational leave in the United Kingdom. Where collective agreements between trade unions and employers have established such rights, there frequently evolves a more sophisticated guidance and/or counselling service (for example, the Civil Service Council for Further Education) to assist the employee towards an informed choice of educational programme.

Furthermore explicitly educational servicing bodies engaged primarily in research, documentation, curriculum development and "animation", such as the National Institute of Adult Education, frequently advise mature students about the educational dimensions of mid-career change, reorientation and second-chance higher education. In these respects N.I.A.E. has a special relationship to the seven long-term residential colleges in the United Kingdom which are specifically designed to provide concentrated full-time residential education for workers who have perceived the need for meaningful changes in their life-style and who are prepared to make a substantial commitment and effort to achieve the necessary educational gain. This latter relationship and advisory function has also extended, in recent years, to the provision of mature-entry training facilities for potential teachers and social workers.

Sector II

The implicit educational sector of this provision is, in theory, very extensive. It is an established assumption that functions of this type will be a major part of the task of the modern teacher. So far as secondary schools are concerned, several studies have shown that this implicit guidance function has usually operated in the direction of higher education stereotypes for post-school education and consequently career choice. Thus to "intellectual" children it was implied that a university was the natural next step towards a professional career - i.e. towards the traditional professions of medicine, law, government administration or - for a very few - pure scholarship. For the "not-so-intellectual" perhaps teaching, social work or even business might be the goals; and there were appropriate institutions of higher education to match these somewhat lowlier aspirations. Until a few years ago, the guidance process in the schools, whether implicit or explicit, stopped right there. Thus a vast range of interesting, skilled, responsible working careers were never presented to the adolescent, except for the restricted, stereotyped range put before a gifted few. How far the position has changed is difficult to estimate; but it is quite clear that there is a substantial proportion of the adult population who feel that either they had no guidance at school, or that what they received was misleading or irrelevant. There is evidence of considerable improvement in recent years, but this as yet makes little impact on the population at large.

When one examines the post-school provision of education, having in mind the former inadequate or non-existent advice, guidance and counselling facilities in secondary schools, one is forced to ask the question: is it any better in colleges, universities and adult centres? The evidence available suggests that a qualified "yes" is the answer. By the very nature of the staffing, course design and external relations of many post-school education establishments, the implicit awareness and expression of relevant, up-to-date information and attitudes about the world of work are bound to be of a fairly high quality. Heads of Department, particularly in Colleges of Further Education, Polytechnics and Regional Colleges of Technology are constantly in touch with industry, social services and local authorities; and the majority of staff are recruited on the basis of industrial and other field service as well as academic ability.

In universities the trend may not be quite so positive, as with the exception of Departments of Extra-Mural Studies and Faculties of Education the staff are frequently the direct product of linear academic escalation, and only occasionally have substantial experience in the world outside. However, in recent years universities have made great efforts to provide explicit guidance and appointment services which to some extent counter the inbred nature of many academic departments. Naturally, too, the explicitly vocational departments such as medicine, law, social administration, education, engineering and technology have had to be aware of the changing nature of the respective services which their disciplines and training serve; indeed, in many cases, university departments have initiated or contributed to such changes. Nevertheless, there is a strongly held belief by the student organisations that the implicit values and consequent guidance of many university departments extend little further than the necessary academic training and grading; and that "relevance" of courses and services, either in absolute or instrumental terms, is a minor consideration.

Sector III

The explicit/non-educational sector is probably the most noticeable and overly projected sector of provision, especially in recent years. It includes a great range and variety of services from the Department of Employment's Careers Advisory Service (now being promoted in High St. "Job Shops") to the long-standing and respected Marriage Guidance Council (this latter an entirely voluntary organisation).

Besides the "official" governmental careers and employment services there have grown up a number of private enterprise organisations using established instruments of vocational testing - aptitude tests, personality inventories, attitude scales - offering services on a fee-paying basis. Additionally, social services, housing departments, health authorities have all realised the necessity of "outreach" help and guidance to enable ordinary people to penetrate the labyrinths of their respective well-intentioned bureaucracies. Sometimes all these latter localised "people-service" guidance facilities have been concentrated in civic centres, community centres or other municipal plant; but usually the employment guidance services stand apart probably reflecting the central governmental structure of these latter, as compared to the other "welfare" services.

As stated in the preamble to this study, there has been no diminution in the number and strength of voluntary organisations and services in spite of the considerable increase in central and local governmental action. To some extent the enhanced commitment of government to care for people with the corresponding complexity of infrastructural organisation has emphasised the need for voluntary bodies to stand outside the bureaucracies, to promote grass roots contact, guidance and counselling, thus to use the new machinery to best community and individual advantage. The flourishing nature of Citizens Advice Bureaux (for all "community" problems), Age Concern (to advise the elderly and to inform society about the special needs and plight of the aged) and the proliferation of town-centre "Law Shops" (to give legal advice), illustrates this point very well. Obviously, several of these organisations, besides operating in a purely guidance/counselling mode, become involved in advocacy on behalf of their clients. They could therefore be classified in Sector IV, although the ones mentioned have always maintained that their primary function has been to enable individual enquirers to take the necessary action themselves.

Voluntary organisations - some of long standing, others recently formed - have adapted to the guidance and counselling roles, perceiving the importance of this mode of operation in relation to their charitable, liberal or reforming goals. They have often been able to attract professionals whose major paid-employment is in other related fields, but whose expertise is vital to the proper performance of the counselling function. This phenomenon is strikingly demonstrated in the field of legal advice - not normally associated with the civil-law needs* of the poorer-paid sections of the population. Indeed a large proportion of the work of the "law-shops" relates to housing rights - rents, rights of tenure, rent tribunals, or to social security payments or to planning development procedures. The professional intervention is no doubt seen as a contribution to social as well as legal justice.

Sector IV

This final sector in the scheme of analysis subsumes the many social work, social action, community and other supportive organisations whose major concerns are welfare, advocacy, conservation or even recreation. They do not advertise a guidance/counselling function, nor do they exhibit this mode of operation in any overt way. However, and particularly recently, they have incorporated an implicit "counselling for self-help" form of procedure which has accorded with modern insights into welfare, community development and individual self-actualisation. Thus the move away from institutionalisation in work for the elderly leads towards supportive counselling, towards new interests, appropriate skills and neighbourhood involvement, and environmental groups, such as "Friends of the Earth" or "Council for the Protection of Rural England" take on an implicit public guidance function as regards major building projects, industrial effluent or ecological disruption.

In this latter regard, the employment of "environmental officers" by local authorities and departments of government again results in an advisory, guidance function even though their ostensible job-specification is more to do with planning or inspecting. It is not uncommon for full-time officers of local and central government together with their colleagues employed by voluntary organisations to join together in educative symposia or group-counselling programmes particularly where major environmental changes, whether progressive or retrogressive, are in the offing.

In concluding the analysis, it is important to reiterate the flexibility of many of the services and institutions, and the impossibility of placing any one unequivocally within a given sector. Indeed, the evolutionary trends within some of the most powerful bodies (e.g. the Manpower Services Commission with its twin subsidiaries, the Training Services Agency and the Employment Services

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*Note: "Legal-aid" public finance for proper guidance and representation in criminal cases has long been a feature of the British legal system. Legal advice for matters of civil-law damage, complaint or redress has tended to be rather costly, and therefore has mostly remained a middle-class indulgence.

Agency) suggest that there may well be even more flexibility and interchange between the educational and non-educational polarities of guidance services.

II. CASE STUDIES

Advisory Centre for Education

ACE, founded in 1960, is a non-profit-making independent organisation, receiving no grants from the public purse towards its running costs. Its headquarters is in Cambridge and its main mode of operation is by correspondence, although telephone enquiries and those received at experimental "education shops" should also be included in the over 100,000 queries answered in the first ten years of its existence. Payment for advice and guidance is mostly by the individuals concerned, although "members" (annual subscribers) receive special information and publication benefits.

ACE serves the needs of adults in two distinct ways. The first is its service to parents in relation to their children: enquiries about learning difficulties, schooling, the problems of enforced mobility due to work requirements, handicapped children, choice of further and higher education. The second relates to the direct educational needs of adults themselves: mature entry to further and higher education, adult education programmes and opportunities, second career education, special interests and learning requirements. Direct adult needs account for about 26 per cent of all enquiries and the "parent-role" for about 70 per cent. The remainder is made up of legal rights and grants enquiries applying to both children and adults.

ACE operated a Technical College Vacancy scheme for several years to enable young and older adults to identify which colleges had vacant places in their various departments. This service was taken over in 1966 by the Department of Education and Science, who also encouraged local education authorities to appoint Local Advisory Officers to assist in the process of advice and guidance for continuing education. There are now over 270 such Local Advisory Officers and the scheme has had substantial publicity in local newspapers and, in some regions, on television.

Another pilot experiment undertaken by ACE was an Education Shop (pioneered in the Ipswich Co-operative department store). Two interesting trends were identified from this piece of action-research: first, there was a much better representation of manual and white-collar workers in the shop enquirers as compared to the AEC correspondence service which is dominated by professional and managerial enquirers; also there was a larger proportion of post-school education enquiries as compared to the normal correspondence service, although the proportion of enquiries about "traditional" adult education was lower.

Thus ACE can be seen to have operated in the typical mode of a voluntary independent organisation in a pluralist society. They identified areas of need not being properly serviced; they operated schemes to meet these needs, often on a shoe-string budget and contrary to official opinion; and their ideas have now, in part, been adopted by the official services of local and central government. Like other such bodies, they may outlive their usefulness. But at the present time there are still yawning gaps in the educational guidance and counselling services which need to be filled - particularly as related to the life and learning of adults. ACE (or an alternative) will be needed for some time.

The National Marriage Guidance Council

The NMGC, founded in 1938, is one of several well-established overt guidance and counselling agencies in the United Kingdom. It has no special concern with formal education, although like so many other special-interest organisations it now finds itself drawn into community action and development work with parents, teachers, the clergy, those who work with immigrants, in areas of disadvantage and in closed institutions.

In one of their latest annual reports, NMGC state the following:

> "In spite of the big build-up of statutory social services the case load of Marriage Guidance Counsellors indicates that there is a strong need to retain a specifically marriage counselling service".

The report points out the vital part played by married life in mental health, personal happiness and fulfilment for well over 90 per cent of the population at some time in their lives; and that "850,000 people currently embark on marriage (in the United Kingdom) each year - in spite of the much publicised pitfalls". In gauging the strength of need for this type of service, the report underlines the other negative aspect - the dramatic rise in divorce figures currently running at just over 100,000 per annum.

NMGCs more recent trend towards an educative mode, as indicated above, is informed by the Council's concern ...

> "that young people in this increasingly pluralistic society will be better helped and equipped to make the choices open to them in their personal relationships in adolescence and adulthood. Preparation for marriage and parenthood in Britain today is still woefully random".

This educative activity can also extend to the political sphere in comments and pressure regarding legislation in the field of the family, divorce and parenthood.

Altogether some 1,300 active counsellors deal with over 100,000 enquiry interviews annually, out of which over 20,000 "cases" originate. Many of the counsellors operate on an entirely voluntary basis, some are paid; all are carefully trained at the NMGC residential college in Rugby and if they become inactive for more than a short period of time, their names are usually withdrawn from the approved panel lists.

The majority of the operating finance for the national body comes from a substantial grant from central government, accounting for about 65 per cent of turnover. The rest of the income comes from sales of books and journals, interest on investments, donations and grants (from charitable institutions) and constituent fees from local Marriage Guidance Councils. These latter operate independently so far as finance is concerned, usually obtaining grants from local authorities, raising money locally, but only rarely gaining substantial moneys from fees to clients. Indeed the majority of clients can only afford very little - often nothing at all. There is no pressure, either explicitly or implicitly upon clients, to pay.

The structure, therefore, is federal; but the central headquarters maintains excellent contact with the local Councils by appointing six professional regional officers for England; also the Scottish and Northern Ireland Councils have their own professional and administrative staff working in close liaison with the headquarters at Rugby. Here also is the Herbert Gray College, a residential training college, data store and resource centre, at which about 1,200 counsellors per annum attend courses of various standards, using modern training techniques including video-taped playback of simulated interviews and counselling sessions. The various headquarters professional staff - Head of counselling, Head of training and Chief Officer, also the regional staff - are frequently involved in statutory and other organisations' training sessions for this field of service.

It will be readily perceived that this organisation makes a considerable contribution to social service work and the health of the nation, not only in its direct counselling work, but also in the stimulus, expertise and flexibility it can apply to other providers of personal services.

The National Advisory Centre on Careers for Women

This organisation is included in the case studies both for its historical significance in the development of careers guidance in this country and also for its continuing role and functions as a specialist organisation concerned about what is clearly still the underprivileged half of society in the world of work.

The major responsibility for careers guidance and employment for all sectors of the population lies with the Department of Employment through the agency of the many local offices and, more recently, through the local career advisory centres and "job shops". However, the special needs and circumstances of women make viable an agency of this sort, charging modest consultation fees and largely supported by grants and donations from industry and charitable foundations.

The NACCW has a history dating back to the first World War. Its parent organisation was the London and National Society for Women's Service (now the Fawcett Society) which was part of the non-militant suffrage movement. This Society provided the first advisory service of its kind on training and employment for women throughout the 1914-1918 war. In 1918 the need for this kind of advice remained and grew, and a small office was opened in London to meet this demand and to help ex-service women settle in civil life. The society was therefore the pioneer of careers advisory work for girls and women in Great Britain. By 1933 the volume of work had developed to such an extent that the Society, together with a group of women interested in all aspects of education and training for girls, established a new organisation - the Women's Employment Federation - to handle this work, transferring to it the Advisory Bureau, its staff and records. The founders were representatives of women's colleges and schools, university appointments boards, professional organisations and women's societies. In 1970 it was decided that the title did not accurately describe the Federation's activities and that in future it should be known as the National Advisory Centre on Careers for Women. Its objects are:

a) to promote consultation and co-operation among member organisations in order to prevent overlapping and to assist each in its individual work for women.
b) to assist in making known the possibilities of work open to women and the best ways to train for and obtain such work.
c) to seek to widen opportunities of employment for women and to encourage suitable types of women recruits for various careers.

These objects are carried out by the collection and distribution of information about training by means of personal consultations for girls, their parents and women of all ages; a lecture service; the publication of pamphlets and reports on careers and training; an annual Careers Course open to all directly concerned with careers advisory work; conferences for schoolgirls, students and women.

Although small, this and other similar non-profit making bodies have a pronounced influence on the style and nature of services in a pluralist society. They offer alternatives and choices to governmental monolithic services, and stimulate concern for the best humane quality of provision.

Gingerbread: the Association for One-Parent Families

Gingerbread is an association for one-parent families, that is where any parent, whether divorced, separated, widowed or unmarried, a prisoner's spouse or a parent whose partner is seriously disabled or hospitalised, is bringing up a child or children single-handed. It is unique as a national body, because not only does it cover every category of lone parent, but it is largely organised by lone parents themselves. It was started in 1970 by a young woman with two children who, faced with the difficulties of being a lone parent, wanted to bring together people who were experiencing similar difficulties. Shortly after its formation it absorbed the previously existing National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child.

Advice and guidance takes the form of a correspondence and telephone service on matters relating to legal rights, welfare rights, finance, psychological difficulties, further education and retraining, housing, health, local support groups and services. The central organisation also advises and assists in setting up local groups. So far over 100 such groups are functioning with active memberships varying between 20 and 200. Enquiries to the London headquarters and to local groups number several thousands every year. Free specialist legal or other advice is available to especially vulnerable or difficult cases. Additionally, a housing register, holiday register, register of other allied specialist organisations and a pen-friend scheme are other departments of the Association.

Gingerbread's other main role, besides the supportive, counselling/guidance role, is to make representations, organise political pressure and seek support for improved legal, social service, housing and education rights for single parents.

Indeed, as noted in Section I,"Analysis of Data", this is another of the organisations whose guidance and educative functions are not overtly promoted or displayed; but who, nevertheless, are of prime importance to a special category of need. In theory, and to some extent in practice, all such groupings of human need should be catered for in the social services departments of local and central government. The orientation of the British social services, following the Seebohm Report, has been towards integrated "family" services rather than the numerous fragmented services which existed before the reorganisation. However, in this present case, the one-parent family sometimes appears to be regarded as an unviable unit - a non-family, by certain aspects of legislation and by some of the functionaries who administer the laws.

Yet again, it can be perceived that a pluralist society both needs and produces special organisations and services to meet the problems and complexities endemic to it. In this case it was the "sufferers" themselves who were left to organise the service and to mobilise the resources.

New Opportunities for Women (Hatfield Polytechnic)

It is most important to understand that this particular case is not a separate organisation, association or service, but essentially it is a course of study organised in one of the United Kingdom institutions of higher education, namely Hatfield Polytechnic.

The course "is designed to be a comprehensive guide to the mature women who may wish to return to active working life but is unsure or unaware of how best to do so. It aims to help the student to become acquainted with the opportunities that exist for re-entry or re-training, for part-time or full-time employment, second careers or voluntary service. We also hope the course helps the student to gain new self-confidence, become aware of new horizons and establish long-term goals, based on her individual interests, abilities and aspirations".

Thus, this is clearly a guidance/counselling operation built into a series of one-day-a-week meetings over a ten-week term. Presentations, workshops, projects, assignments, visits, are all designed to open up new perceptions of opportunity, change and growth for women, with the stress always on the employment network but not forgetting the cultural and self-fulfilment aspects and the inevitable change in life-style.

Analysis of the several courses organised since the original in 1971 indicate a predominantly (but not entirely) middle-class take-up of the course; but this trend is undoubtedly influenced by the prosperous, middle-class nature of the district in which the Polytechnic stands, with aircraft, pharmaceutical and other light industries nearby and a strong London executive dormitory suburb element. The majority age-group was 30-49, making 92 per cent of the sample; also 93 per cent were married, the majority having 2 or 3 children. 48 per cent had voluntarily undertaken some further/adult education since leaving school. The major reasons for joining the course were a perceived need for entry upon some appropriate re-education or professional training with a view to obtaining a good job. Such a course (most students stated) should be locally available, part-time during school hours. Only 16 per cent could contemplate a full-time course.

Follow up of a typical sample of the NOW students, one year after leaving the course, revealed the following pattern:

Activity	Age				
	20-29 (no.=3)	30-39 (no.=24)	40-49 (no.=27)	50+ (no.=2)	All (no.=56)
Studying full-time	0	4	2	0	6
Studying part-time	2	7	8	1	18
Working full-time	0	2	4	1	7
Working part-time	0	10	12	0	22
Both working and studying	0	5	3	0	8
Neither working nor studying	0	3	2	0	5
No answer	1	2	3	0	6

(The author is indebted to the survey "New Opportunities for Women" by Ruth Michaels - Hatfield Polytechnic Occasional Papers).

There is therefore considerable evidence of new directions, careers and involvement by women following a stimulus of this kind. It should be emphasised that other courses of this type are now developing throughout the country.

Thus Fresh Horizons Courses at the London City Literary Institute are both full-time and part-time courses, of a similar style but orientated towards higher education, teacher-training, social work training, rather than industrial or commercial work. Both sexes are involved.

Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) is the largest provision of this kind, promoted by the Department of Employment in many further education colleges, polytechnics and special training centres. These courses aim to offer new training opportunities for men and women to take up occupations in which there are labour shortages and in which a crucial contribution can be made to the gross national product. In 1974, some 50,000 adults are involved in the TOPS programmes, the majority men, but a growing proportion of women. Here again, a guidance/counselling element precedes and accompanies the programme, but tends to be entirely vocationally orientated.

It would not be satisfactory to complete the case study section of this report without mentioning the main central informing agency for all advisory/guidance/counselling work in this country. This is the Careers Research and Advisory Centre, situated in Cambridge. Founded in 1963, CRAC is an independent non-profit making body with substantial financial support from major industrial firms together with grants and subscriptions from departments of local and central government. In addition to its informing role, CRAC also engages in training of teacher-counsellors and others, research and development work in several related fields, advice and consultation in setting up new guidance/counselling departments, particularly in the contexts of education and careers, and publications, notably the key British journal in this field - "Guidance and Counselling" - published bi-annually.

There is a separate CRAC for Scotland which works closely with the main Cambridge-based organisation.

Its main objectives are unchanged from its original inception, namely:

- to act as a communication link between the worlds of education and work and
- to service and develop guidance work in schools, universities and colleges.

Nevertheless the execution of these objectives in an increasingly complex society has involved a considerable growth and diversification of staff to the present total of 55.

In a recent annual report CRAC made the following forecasts about the future of guidance services to the national and international trends in education, employment, technology and the Common Market:

- More world-oriented guidance and information services.
- Less work-orientated guidance services. Guidance work will become increasingly concerned with helping individuals to determine their whole life-style, including leisure, family and community roles, instead of concentrating so heavily, as at present, on the choice of occupation.
- Development of guidance services to help people with the career and life-style decisions which they will have to take throughout their lives.
- Increasing emphasis at school-level of imparting decision-making skills.
- Increased use of technology, notably computers and audio-visual education systems, to cope with the growing pressure on guidance work and to allow guidance workers to concentrate more on the counselling work which they alone can do.

As a final note in this section it is important yet again to stress that the great majority of advisory and guidance work, and an increasing amount of counselling work is being undertaken by the agencies of the statutory authorities, i.e. central and local government departments. These are in the fields of education, employment, social services, health and welfare, housing and recreation.

- The 270 local advisory officers in the local educational sphere,
- the 45 occupational guidance units of the Department of Employment,
- the thousands of community, family and psychiatric social workers, health visitors, child care officers and educational welfare officers of the various local government departments,
- increasingly, family doctors,
- the whole of the nearly 1 million teaching staff of schools, colleges, universities, adult colleges and centres,

- the hundreds of careers officers and employment agencies,

all are beginning to perceive the essential nature of the guidance/ counselling mode within their ostensibly major work roles. It is clearly a growing field of activity.

III. TRENDS IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING SERVICES

This section will attempt to extrapolate certain present trends from the data available. It will not try to look too far into the future, as some such conjectures will appear in the concluding section.

The most obvious trend in recent years is that of growth in this whole area of institutionalised and operationalised advisory/guidance/ counselling services. In colleges, departments of employment, education offices, local and central government and voluntary bodies there is now seen to be an important role, or rather series of roles, within this general notion. In addition to the sheer numerical growth of identifiable services there is also a widening of scope and range, so that facets of life such as law, social benefit, recreation, consumer affairs, as well as the more traditional vocational concerns, now have advice and guidance services, and frequently counselling as well. This trend is exemplified by the recent appearance of "High Street" advice and guidance shops where people can drop in more conveniently and without having to breach a social barrier, to find out, consult or ask for counsel. Citizens' Advice Bureaux have been a feature of most towns and cities in the United Kingdom since the last war; but their situation, way of working and general tone have not always been compatible with the needs of a full cross-section of the population. Probably the largest growth stimulus has occurred where special guidance and counselling services have been developed (largely by voluntary initiative in the first place) to counter clear areas of disadvantage: support for widows, one-parent families, the homeless (or gross overcrowding in unsuitable housing), the physically or mentally handicapped.

A second important trend has been within the organisations themselves, namely to move towards more "personalised" services: this trend has already been noted in the discussion on the meaning of advice, guidance and counselling. Thus bland "advice" as to available work-prospects, which was the normal modus operandi at (for example) University Appointments Boards has now been replaced by more sophisticated techniques of aptitude and interest assessment, skills analysis and vocational guidance. Again, services for prisoners discharged from penal establishments were formerly solely of a job-placement character, but are now increasingly supported by counselling services which attempt to demonstrate interest and concern for the manifold personal problems of ex-prisoners. Some vocational guidance interests are talking about computerisation of purely information-giving, to leave more time for personalised guidance and counselling.

A third trend to be noted is that of professionalism. This takes two forms: the first affects advice, guidance and counselling personnel per se (whether full-time, part-time paid or voluntary), and is seen in relation to the more demanding recruitment and training requirements; the second involves the bringing in of professionals from a variety of specialist fields and applying their specialist knowledge to the point of contact with people in need - lawyers in law-shops and claimants' advice), doctors (in family planning clinics, etc.), psychologists (in marriage guidance councils, vocational guidance and rehabilitation centres). This trend brings its own problems, both structurally and financially; for although many of the "outside" professionals give their services free or for next-to-nothing, not all do so; and travelling expenses plus the cost of training and orientation can produce substantial burdens on formerly low-budget voluntary groups. Counter to this general trend, certain groups working in inner-urban areas and concerned to help deprived or delinquent youth groups, have consciously recruited local volunteers indigenous to the immediate target sub-culture, whose acceptability and general communication skill can, with a minimum of social and ethical training, be greatly advantageous in contacting and "action-counselling" young people at risk (e.g. The Open Door in Birmingham, Off the Record in Bristol and Sheffield). Nevertheless, even in these latter cases very special, highly skilled professionals are generally in the background.

Various co-ordinating, servicing and stimulating bodies have appeared in recent years, complementary to these three trends:

The Standing Conference for the Advancement of Counselling was set up in 1971 - "to co-ordinate the work of all professional groups involved in counselling across a very broad front".

The Vocational Guidance Research Unit at the University of Leeds has produced some excellent research and theoretical writing in the guidance field.

The formerly mentioned Careers Research and Advisory Centre has expanded and diversified so that it now operates specialist units in the fields of Further Education, Graduate and Professional Careers, Higher Education, Guidance and Counselling services, Business Studies and Research/Development.

More recently the National Council of Social Service has accepted the burden of bringing together the many voluntary guidance/counselling organisations, of providing a forum for their discussions, of representing their interests and producing a Directory.

IV. DISCUSSION

It is proposed in this section to estimate the importance of the guidance/counselling services and their contribution to the quality of life in the United Kingdom.

Historically speaking, one can perceive that the changing trends in these services, outlined in Section III above, are related to changing styles and expectations of life in this country, especially since the last war. In essence, it would seem that people hope to make more of themselves, of their children, of their lives than was formerly the case. The post-war changes in educational opportunity as projected in the 1944 Education Act, offering free secondary education for all, undoubtedly opened up many new perspectives and expectations, many of which have proved illusory. It is now seen that secondary education for all did not mean equal opportunity to participate, but rather further opportunity to compete; and the competition still clearly favours the child from the stimulating home environment, with strong educational expectations and support. In some senses the vastly increased investment in formal schooling has reinforced societal divisions rather than drawing the nation together. As a consequence, much of post-school life and learning has had to be either the conforming to highly stratified job and life-style expectations laid down in the competitive school-system, or the struggle to achieve self-actualising roles in spite of predetermining factors militating against their realisation.

Thus, until the mid 1960s, the notion of educational guidance was almost a meaningless concept. The view was largely accepted that the various educational procedures such as the 11+ examination for selection to the various types of secondary school, the 16+ General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) for first selection for higher education or further education, and the 18+ General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) for entry into universities were sufficient. For those who were "burned-off" along the way (at 15+ for those leaving schools at the statutory school leaving age), for the "O" level failures, sixth-form drop-outs or "A" level failures, the only concern was to find them a job. For this latter purpose the Youth Employment Service was formed, and carried out this difficult role for some 30 years.

However, during the latter 1960s various trends, notably employment mobility, increasing evidence of job dissatisfaction and waste of talent, the need to recruit "married women returners" to the labour market and the general increased complexity of life, especially in urban areas, produced a number of voluntary and some governmental initiatives in the guidance/counselling field. And perhaps more important still, individuals have increasingly asserted the right to make decisions that will determine their future, rather than have such decisions imposed upon them. This is leading to the need for an "equal-partner" notion of guidance and counselling, rather than "direction from on high".

Economically speaking, the case for vocational advice/guidance work is fairly clear. It has been pointed out that if one adviser could prevent the wastage of only 4 student-years in higher education, each costing between £1,000 and £1,800, he would be earning his keep. Alternatively, the willingness of public and private enterprises to invest perhaps £80,000 of salary in the career of a staff-member, and yet only be willing to spend an afternoon's interview expenses on his appointment does seem rather odd! However, the "pay-off" from the personal counselling services is very difficult to estimate in economic terms. Certainly, the saving on institutionalisation costs from a community-based counselling service able to operate in a prophylactic mode,thus preventing serious disability and consequent drag on health and social services, would seem obvious. Of course, both these styles of economic assessment are in a sense negative: both consider the possible savings, neither considers the possible positive gain. Empirical evidence from various learning programmes geared to vocational choice and development would indicate rather more success in terms of social as well as individual rate of return than mere one-off diagnostic sessions followed by immediate job-placement. Certainly if a full theory is one which explains, predicts and enables control of phenomena in this world, the theories of career development, vocational guidance and counselling have a long way to go.

H.J. Eysenck, writing in 1952 and 1960, suggested that the case for the effectiveness of counselling was not proven. Subsequent analyses(1) have left the question open whilst continuing to struggle with the intractable problem of trying to measure counselling outcomes. Certainly the investment of time and effort is considerable: guidance/counselling tends to be a labour-intensive business. Group counselling, notable as associated with the Re-evaluation Counselling theories of Scheff(2) and Somers(3) has grown apace and is adopted by some specialist voluntary organisations (Alcoholics Anonymous, for example) as well as various institutions. Although the economic aspect is not the prime determinant, group work is clearly less expensive of costly expertise than traditional one-to-one sessions. The use of various pre-packaged tabulations, inventories and simulations for vocational guidance is now standard practice and has useful logistical advantages at maximum recruitment periods or when large numbers of job-seekers arrive on the labour market. All these latter relate to the input side of the equation; only small evidence is available on the output side. A quick overview of the research suggests a similar state of play to that appertaining in the "teacher-effectiveness" field of research in education, at least up to a few years ago. Since then there has been much progress in this latter field by examining intermediate processes, skills, attitudes, behaviours and other infrastructure within the "black box" instead of trying to make enormous inferential jumps from input "criteria of effectiveness" to output measures. Possibly guidance/counselling research will have to follow the same or a parallel course.

Examining the guidance/counselling movement from the socio-political standpoint produces some interesting questions as well as definite observations. The crucial argument about "work/services/products for people versus people for work/services/products" is immediately apparent. For example, if one were to interpret the role of the newly formed governmental Employment Service Agency (or even its partner, the Training Services Agency) as merely providing human fodder for the industrial machine, one immediately encounters political attitudes and opinions of a very positive kind. It could be argued that this coercive, mechanistic role cannot be enacted in our society without the introduction of direction of labour. But it is also clear that the style, choice of emphasis, level of projection employed by guidance agencies of particular classes of jobs and industries greatly affect the degrees of choice open to the individual. Equally obviously to encourage over-training in an area of employment with little demand and no future perceivable expansion would be undesirable. However, there is now clear evidence (see Gingerbread annual report 1972) that the functioning of several central and local governmental agencies in the social field does not always accord with the stated policies of governments both central and local. Thus advice/guidance/counselling organisations, if they are to act as agents for the implementation of "improving", "reforming", "equalising", "fair-playing" social policies must be fully informed of these policies and accept them as part of their process of working. Paradoxically enough several civil rights, amenities, social benefits, organisations - often with strong advisory functions - have been set up as militant voluntary organisations to extract the proper services (proper in the sense of a pattern of services exemplifying the above-quoted values).

Thus in the field of community provision we can discern:

Community services (from the authority to the people)
Community development (the encouragement of self-help and partnership)
Community action (local group action to counter disadvantage, deprivation, injustice).

It is quite possible for a community worker, employed by a local authority, to find himself involved in a march on the town hall, and subsequently to be accused of "biting the hand that feeds him".

Similarly in the advice/guidance/counselling fields the line between professional objective advice or counselling, and advocacy is not easy to draw. It is not always possible for the field worker to remain in the "stand-off" position: he may inevitably be drawn into the political arena.

Part of the answer to these problems and paradoxes in British society lies in pluralistic provision - in this case of guidance/counselling services. It is sometimes argued that pluralism is wasteful, is inefficient and frequently dilettante. So far, however, it is the only partial solution yet available to try to meet the exernal dilemma of the individual and his aspirations faced with vast amorphous pressures to conform, to comply, to accept. Thus whilst much of the dogma of modern counselling and guidance is based on consensus (e.g. contract counselling), one can see clearly that the purposes of democracy as outlined above, at least in our present time, depend on conflict, as much in the guidance/counselling business as any other.

These latter remarks point towards moral considerations as all political perspectives are bound to do. One of the key concepts identifiable in much of the advice and guidance work is that of "access", i.e. access to the advantages of further and higher education, access to a decent job, access to legal rights in housing, social security, health, non-discrimination. There is here a moral standpoint as well as a political principle. But like many such virtuous informing principles it can lead to a social hypocrisy that conceals the evil which the procedure is supposed to eliminate. Thus discreetly muted services, housed in "nice" districts of towns and cities, may well be sought out by the informed and affluent; but either they are never perceived at all by less aggressive, less capable people, or they are perceived as irrelevant to their social needs. It seems a clear moral duty to project all guidance services in the optimum mode and medium. Recent examples include television "commercials" for the tenants' advisory service operated by local authorities.

Counselling services in recent years have been increasingly considered as a mental health prophylaxis as well as a "time-of-crisis" service. This new development has interesting moral and philosophical overtones which are still under discussion.(4) When the argument in this dimension is carried through to its logical conclusion, the "counselling" quickly becomes "social education" not only for children and young people, but parents and indeed all adults engaged in interactions and relationships with others. This suggests that the real moral purposes of all the services considered in this paper are either to counteract the effects of a largely amoral, uncaring world or to point the way towards a truly moral, caring world.

V. CONCLUSION

It would be merely repetitive to summarise the discussion outlined above in Sections III and IV. Suffice it to say that not only is there a clear theoretical need for guidance and counselling services in modern complex "developed" societies, there is also demonstrably a considerable demand for such services, at least in the United Kingdom. Where need exists in the United Kingdom, so services have been devised, sometimes rather naive, voluntary, under-capitalised services, but serving as pointers for community, society and government towards areas of need. Much of the evaluation of such services is subjective and non-accumulative, but whether accurate or inaccurate, the public view as to the worth of this movement is definitely favourable. The present growth will continue, probably with even greater diversity, so long as society continues to become increasingly pluralistic and complex. The paradox of mankind is clearly exemplified once again. The more we have available, the more difficult it is to choose; the more we are alone, the more we need friends. And as families become smaller and more loosely-knit, personal friends and relatives become scattered, relationships become fleeting and shallow, cities breed anomie, perhaps the friends we need will increasingly appear in the guise of advisers and counsellors. Let us hope they do not forget the simple human bases on which their work rests.

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Appendix

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS OFFERING ADVISORY/COUNSELLING FACILITIES

Advisory Centre for Education. Advisory service on all educational matters, mainly financed through membership subscriptions. Advice generally provided through publication '*Where*' - fee charged for individual consultation.

Age Concern. Advisory and referral service on problems affecting the elderly. Publication of information booklets on such topics. National network of affiliated organisations, many of which have direct counselling services.

Association for One-Parent Families. Telephone and correspondence advisory service on all problems affecting single-parent families. Local groups arrange meetings and social and advisory sessions, mutual baby-sitting help, etc.

Career Analysts. Commercial service of vocational testing and advice on careers for all ages, by psychologists. Cost of service £20-£30.

Careers Research and Advisory Centre. Mainly vocational counselling services, largely through advisory service to school and university counsellors and careers teachers.

Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges. Information and advice on educational travel and exchange, for groups and individuals. Advises on international contacts for teachers, group leaders, etc. Publishes booklets on study tours abroad and in Britain (for foreign visitors).

Central Council for the Disabled. Acts as the central co-ordinating body for all organisations for the welfare of the disabled. Large information and advisory section (mainly on a referral basis) on all matters affecting the disabled, e.g. transport, aids, pensions. Large range of information leaflets.

Child Poverty Action Group. Basically a political pressure-group, but gives advice and help, mainly through local branches, to poor families. Advisory and legal services in helping families to obtain full state benefits. Welfare rights advisory stalls on local markets.

Citizens Advice Bureaux. Complete advisory and referral service, with branches in most towns. Most people's first point of contact for finding the right service to deal with their particular problem.

Claimants Union. Self-help organisation of people in receipt of state benefits, advising on their rights under the law to all the allowances for which they are eligible - deals with the unemployed, disabled, etc.

Disabled Living Foundation. Practical advice to the disabled and those caring for them, largely concerned with aids to mobility and independence.

Educational Redeployment Service. Counselling interviews mainly for students; advice on careers, course transfer or alternative training for students failing to finish their course.

Family Planning Association. National network of clinics and in some places domiciliary services offering advice on all aspects of family planning.

Health Education Council. Advice to members of the health professions. Enquiries from the general public generally referred to general medical practitioners.

Housing Advice Centres. Mainly in London, though a few in other cities with housing problems. Direct counselling service to people in housing need. Advice on mortgages, landlord-tenant relationships, etc.

Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants. Telephone and correspondence advisory service on all matters affecting immigrants to Britain (largely,though not specifically, coloured immigrants). Advice on employment, housing, learning English, etc.

Legal Advice Centres. These exist under various names in most large towns and cities. Clients are often referred from the Citizens Advice Bureaux. Sometimes run by local authorities, sometimes charitable foundations.

Lifeline. Primarily anti-abortion service. Advice to pregnant girls - usually unmarried. Help with adoption, housing, etc.

National Advisory Centre on Careers for Women. Individual queries answered, but largely concentrates on careers advice to schoolgirls and to careers officers in schools, and to providing a lecture and conference service on careers and training for women.

National Association for Remedial Education. Advisory service mainly for teachers involved in the teaching of adult illiterates.

National Association for Mental Health. Individual casework service through correspondence and telephone enquiries. Advice to relatives of the mentally handicapped, and referral service for the mentally ill. Local associations offer an informal "befriending" service.

National Council for Civil Liberties. Advice on legal rights and help in arranging legal representation for defendants, prisoners, immigrants, etc. Also political pressure group.

National Council of Social Service. National co-ordinating body for all social services. Referral system for general enquiries to various branches of the social services.

National Federation of Consumer Groups. National co-ordinating body of varied individual groups, all concerned with consumer protection and education. Local groups vary as to whether advice is provided to the general public or to members only.

National Institute of Adult Education. Co-ordinating and research organisation. Telephone and correspondence advisory service on all matters concerning the education of adults, to the general public and to members of the teaching profession involved in adult education.

National Marriage Guidance Council. Local centres providing personal consultations on all problems occurring within the framework of marriage, especially those involving personal and sexual relationships. Also provide a training service for others involved in this work, such as teachers, clergy, etc.

National Organisation for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders. Advice for ex-prisoners and their families on employment, finance, family problems, etc.

Pregnancy Advisory Service. Advice to women in distress because of unwanted pregnancy, and helping those who wish for abortions to obtain treatment. Similar services exist in most large towns, some on a commercial basis, some working as charities.

Pre-Retirement Association. Advice to persons nearing retirement on finance, housing, etc. Lectures to groups of employees nearing retirement. Regular publication 'Retirement Choice', on subjects of interest to the retired.

Release. Originally formed to help and advise young people charged with drug offences; now provides social service advice to people who feel reluctant to approach establishment-based organisations - drop-outs, prisoners, etc.

Samaritans. 'Befriending' service, usually by telephone contact or by direct consultation. Originally intended for the suicidal, now deals with all cases of people who feel desperate. Referral system where appropriate. Branches in most towns.

Scottish Institute of Adult Education. Information service similar to the NIAE, for the adult education service in Scotland.

Shelter. Advice on all housing problems - landlord-tenant relations, homelessness, eviction, etc.

Sports Council. Advice on all matters relating to physical recreation, sports, physical education. Mainly a referral service to the appropriate specialist organisation.

Vocational Guidance Association. A slightly cheaper, non-profit-making organisation, providing roughly the same service as Career Analysts.

Women's Liberation Movement. Local branches of a national movement, providing advice to women on finance, employment, legal rights, etc.

Miscellaneous Advisory Services. Several newspapers and magazines have regular advisory columns or pages on various subjects, e.g. financial, legal and emotional problems.

Other organisations giving advice on specific topics include those devoted to certain disabilities, such as the Spastics Society, the Royal National Institute for the Blind; those devoted to certain hobbies and recreational pursuits, such as the Embroiderers' Guild, the Royal Horticultural Society; the governing bodies of the various sports, such as the British Mountaineering Association, and the various professions, such as the British Medical Association. These organisations are too numerous to list; those needing their advice are likely to know of their existence.

Ministers of the various churches are generally available in an advisory capacity to all who wish to consult them; in addition, the churches run several of their own advisory services, such as the Catholic Housing Aid, and the Jewish Adoption Advisory Service.

Government and Local Government Bodies. Free service on all aspects of health is available from doctors in the National Health Service, on employment and careers from the Department of Employment, on housing and education from the relevant departments of local government, and all other problems of a practical nature can be dealt with or referred by Local Social Services departments. Of these, the Department of Employment is most directly involved in counselling.

Note: Many of the above organisations have local branches or are duplicated in various areas of Britain, sometimes under the same name, sometimes as a separate organisation. The list is therefore representative rather than comprehensive.

VIII

INNOVATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE

by
Nigel Grant

Non-traditional forms of education are not new in the Eastern European countries. In the USSR they have played an important role in the educational system since the Revolution, and in the other countries since shortly after the end of the Second World War. Nor have they arisen as clear-cut alternatives to extension of the more conventional institutions; they developed as part of a programme of expansion of all types of education, traditional and non-traditional alike. Of course, it has been found that expansion in some fields is more difficult to sustain than had been hoped, that sometimes it did not produce the results expected of it, and that even the successes could produce further problems in their turn. In such cases, the authorities have frequently turned to various types of non-traditional modes of study to take some of the pressure off the conventional system, while maintaining the overall strategy of educational growth. In this context there is no clear-cut demarcation between non-traditional forms - adult education, part-time and external courses, cultural centres, work-based instruction - and the more familiar schools, colleges and universities. (Some countries question the existence of any such concept as "adult education", insisting that there is only "education".) In various ways, they are linked to the traditional system, in a way more reminiscent of North American than Western European provision, and come under the same global direction of Government and Party. This last point may not be acceptable to other countries; but the widespread use of non-traditional structures, and their links with the regular system, may be of interest to very different societies - both those for whom economic considerations severely limit conventional educational expansion, and those who have gone far enough in this direction to discover its social limitations.

I. THE GROWTH OF MASS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS AND PRESSURES IN THE HIGHER SECTOR

Until the later 1950s, non-traditional structures were relatively inconspicuous; the most striking phenomenon in the Eastern European countries was the large-scale expansion of educational provision of all kinds, at higher, secondary and, where appropriate, primary level as well. The rate varied greatly, depending in part on how much ground had to be made up. In East Germany and Czechoslovakia (or, more precisely, the Czech Lands) there already existed a solid basis of elementary schooling from age 6 up to early adolescence. Elsewhere, though there was usually a theoretically compulsory system (seven years in Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland, six in Hungary, four in Yugoslavia), enforcement of attendance was, to say the least, uneven. In Bulgaria, there were nearly 2,000 villages with no schools at all in 1944, and 100,000 children with no schooling. In pre-war Hungary, less than half the appropriate age-group were completing even the six-year elementary course. Over a million school-age children in Poland were not at school, and in any case many rural elementary schools were taking seven years to cover four years of the course, so that even those rural children who managed to stay on for the full period had no chance of qualifying for secondary school. When the financial barriers are taken into account, it is not surprising to find a low proportion of working-class or peasant children in secondary schools - 14 per cent in Poland, for example, and only 4 per cent in Hungary. Admission to higher education, of course, was even more limited. Some countries, notably Czechoslovakia and East Germany, did have a network of intermediate schools from which one could, and a few did, go on to some kind of higher or further education. But the numbers were extremely small; overwhelmingly the route to higher studies was through the traditional lycées or Gymnasien.

In all the countries of Eastern Europe the principal aim was to expand the system, open it up, and change its direction, attempting a complete quantitative and qualitative transformation. The expansion was obvious enough. In pre-war Poland, for example, there were 4,865,000 pupils in elementary schools, 221,000 in general secondary schools, and 50,000 students in higher education; by 1960, basic schools had 4,828,000, general secondary schools 260,000, higher education 166,000. Allowing for the large population losses in the war, this represents a marked increase of access even to elementary and secondary education, and of course a clear absolute increase in higher education. Other countries with population decreases show a similar pattern when the necessary corrections are made. (Bulgaria, for instance, shows a decline of primary enrolments between 1944 and 1968, but correction for population trends - a high post-war peak followed by a steady decline - turns this into an increase in proportional attendance; but higher education shows an increase of 3.04 times, other post-secondary institutions a 5.76-fold increase, even without such correction.) Examples could be given to reinforce the picture, but one more will serve: Rumania, less affected than most by wartime losses, emerged from post-war re-organisation with 1,790,000 in basic schools, 55,000 in lycées, 48,700 in higher education. By the beginning of the 1960s these figures had risen to 2,346,000; 241,000; and 72,000 respectively; the basic school enrolment thereafter stabilised, the lycée enrolment continued to increase (but at a less dramatic rate), while the number of students in higher education had climbed to nearly six times the pre-war figure by the beginning of the present decade.

Expansion went along with opening the school systems, largely by doing away with early selection for the academic secondary schools, and by eliminating "blind alleys" in the educational system. Details, and pace of change, varied considerably, but broadly the system of vertical divisions was replaced by one of horizontal layers, in which all children went to a basic school (comprising the primary and lower secondary states) which took them up to the end of compulsory schooling; selection, for different kinds of upper secondary schools, was generally retained at age 15 or thereabouts. The basic school was essentially comprehensive; and although differentiation remained thereafter, the upper secondary schools were reorganised so as to provide alternative routes to higher and further education, not just one as formerly.

There was also a shift in the balance of disciplines, at both higher and secondary level, from law, classics and the humanities towards science and technology. At higher level, this was a fairly straightforward operation, requiring the extension of the appropriate faculties and institutions in the course of the general expansion. At secondary level, some technical schools were raised to a status more like that of the lycées or Gymnasien, adding to the professional context a strong general educational element, and making them viable alternative routes to higher education. Not all vocational and technical schools were thus promoted, but enough were to shift the balance of post-basic schooling away from the traditional pattern. These schools were modelled largely on the Soviet secondary specialised schools or *tekhnikumy*. The pattern of development was uneven; Rumania, at one extreme, did not create schools of this kind at all until 1966, when they added specialised lycées (*licee de specialitate*) to the existing network of lycées and apprentice schools. In Bulgaria, by contrast, the main thrust of secondary educational expansion took place in this area, so much so that between 1945 and 1968 the numbers in Gymnasium classes actually declined (by a factor of 0.68), while technikum students increased 7.41 times. This also was exceptional, but in most of the East European countries schools of this type developed and increased at a greater rate than the conventional academic secondary schools.

The reasons for the expansion and re-structuring of the systems were obvious enough. They were partly to do with economics and manpower. The USSR (on whose experience the other countries leaned heavily) had undertaken an ambitious programme of industrialisation before the war, and had found, predictably, that such an undertaking required a greatly increased supply of people with the expertise to put the two Five-Year Plans into operation. Nor was this just a matter of concentrating on the training of key personnel like scientists, engineers, technologists and the like. (That would have been relatively straightforward.) But each technologist, if he was to use his time effectively rather than dissipate it on less skilled work, needed the support of a number of technicians; by the same token, their work had to be supported in turn by a greater number of skilled workers. Other considerations apart, then, the drive to industrialise called for a much wider spread of educational facilities at several levels; in short, the modernisation programme required the development of a system of mass education.

This experience was not lost on the other East European countries after communist governments came to power and set their plans in motion. Within the bloc, Czechoslovakia had a substantial industrial base and a reasonable supply of personnel, and had escaped the worst of the wartime devastations. East Germany had lost most of what it had. Rumania and Bulgaria were industrially backward in any case; while, to varying degrees, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Albania suffered from lack of an industrial base and considerable loss of life and destruction of plant in the war. (Some of them had to pay heavy reparations to the Soviet Union as well.) Nor was it simply a matter of training technologists and technicians on a mass scale; the growing systems of education required an increased supply of teachers of all kinds, so that the systems had to sustain a major effort in the humanities and social sciences as well. Even on the narrowest utilitarian arguments, the programmes of reconstruction and industrialisation undertaken by the communist governments required educational expansion at all levels and over a wide range of disciplines.

But the arguments were not limited to such practical concerns. Educational reform was in the air all over Europe; France and Britain, Denmark and Sweden, as well as the Eastern countries, were affected by the pressures for greater educational opportunity and a more open system. Possibly the growing complexity of vocational patterns, social dislocation and increased mobility, a reduction of class mystique and increase in aspirations, all played their part; it is hard to avoid the impression of a widespread sentiment in Eastern and Western countries, belligerent or neutral, that things had to be different. In the East, there was a further political point: educational opportunity was to be opened to all classes and, more specifically, the near-monopoly of the former privileged groups was to be ended. Such objectives were frequently written into the Constitution, as in East Germany:

> The course of young people's education must not be allowed to depend upon the financial or social position of their parents. On the contrary, children who are at a disadvantage in their social position must receive special attention. Talented young people from all strata of society must be given the opportunity to attend technical schools, colleges and universities.

Inseparable from the aim of widespread opportunity was, of course, that of instilling the political values of the new systems. Statements making this clear are plentiful, but the Rumanian 1948 law for the Reform of the Educational System can serve as an illustration of this all-embracing approach. The major aims are stated to be:

> To eliminate illiteracy; to broaden and democratise the basic educational system so as to include all children of school age, as well as adult illiterates; to educate youth in the spirit of popular democracy, and to instill in them the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The social aims of the East European régimes, therefore, depended upon maximum access of people to the educational system, and of the educational system to people. From this followed a commitment to expansion, and promoting other ways of entry to higher and further education, thus eroding the monopoly of the traditional institutions.

By the 1960s the pattern of compulsory and post-compulsory education in Eastern Europe was looking like this:

1. Compulsory basic comprehensive school (primary + lower secondary) from age 6 or 7 to 15 or 16.
2. Upper secondary (non-compulsory): either -
    a) Lycée or Gymnasium, the upper secondary academic school, with courses of three or four years' duration to age 18 or 19. This was what was left of the old selective school after the lower level had been absorbed by the basic school; it has remained a major route (often the major route) to higher education. Entry is still selective at this stage in many countries. Some, such as Bulgaria, have been following the Soviet pattern in grafting this stage on to the basic school and organising both as one continuous process, though as yet they do not make it

part of compulsory schooling as the USSR has been trying to do, or

b) Secondary technical or professional school (tekhnikum, Berufsschule mit Abitur, etc.) already explained. Apart from the great increase in numbers, the most significant development in these has been placing them on a par with (a), with the possibility of proceeding to higher education, or

c) Trade or apprentice schools. These do not generally provide general education up to leaving certificate standard, as the others do, but offer courses of two or three years leading to a vocational qualification. They entrain some general educational material; but those wishing to proceed to higher education will have to acquire the required courses on a part-time basis. (This is a requirement in the Soviet Union for those choosing this type of school.)

The actual numbers staying on for some kind of post-compulsory schooling has always varied greatly from country to country, but by the mid-1960s a majority of the age-group were doing so. This ranged from a bare majority in Yugoslavia and Rumania (or, for that matter, the USSR in the early 1960s) to very nearly the entire age-group in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Whatever the distribution by types of school, this meant a greatly increased proportion of the age-group going through courses which made them at least eligible for higher study, an experience previously limited to a small minority.

II. PROBLEMS OF EXPANSION

Gratified though they were at what a Bulgarian author has called "this headlong progress", the authorities had to recognise that it raised other problems. Greater numbers were going through courses of a type hitherto geared to preparation for higher education, and the traditional form at that. Increased mobility led people who would not previously have thought of higher education to seek it; and indeed, admission policy, by making special provision for children of workers and peasants, encouraged this trend. As a Soviet author puts it:

> The Higher School of the Soviet state is the most democratic in the world...For the first time in the history of mankind the doors of the higher educational institutions were thrown wide open to the working people...study in higher schools not only became free; governmental aid was rendered to the students. As a result of the great achievements of the socialist revolution, every Soviet worker can now acquire a free higher education.

This is hardly an accurate statement of actual opportunities, however, since the combination of circumstances ensured that the secondary schools produced more potential entrants to higher education than the institutions could possibly absorb. The rate of expansion of secondary education tends to outstrip that of higher education, and this, combined with the opening of alternative channels, created a serious excess of demand over supply. At the same time, the kind of course that many of the students had followed made them disinclined to do anything else. Speaking in 1958, Khrushchov summed up the problem as he saw it:

> In recent years, in view of the growing numbers passing out of the ten-year schools, a smaller proportion of boys and girls enter college. The greater part of them...turn out to be quite unprepared for life and do not know in which direction to turn... This state of affairs can hardly be considered right...
> As a rule, boys and girls who have finished secondary school consider that the only acceptable path in life for them is to continue their education at higher schools. Some of them even consider [work] beneath their dignity...such views are an insult to the working people of socialist society.

Khrushchov was most exercised over the social implications, but the practical problems were constantly at the back of the discussion. There was obviously a question of cost; then, as now, higher education was by far the most expensive sector, the high unit costs making up for the relatively small numbers. (The rate of cost increase, of course, is also higher.) Significantly, in a discussion in Bulgaria eleven years after Khrushchov's speech, one of the chief considerations was the economic one (though Todor Zhivkov also made much of the social aspects, in Khrushchovian style.) Some East European countries still hold to the ideal of a system of higher education (eventually) for all who want it, but it is generally conceded that it would be prohibitively expensive, at least in its familiar form.

But even if cost were no object, manpower is. Although it is true that one of the main motives behind the expansion of higher and secondary education was to provide manpower for industrial development, there are limits to the numbers of graduates the economy can absorb. (In any case, many of those seeking higher education were aiming to study subjects with poor prospects of employment, a familiar enough problem in the West too.) The diversion of too many young people to full-time higher (or, for that matter, upper secondary) education threatened to deplete the labour force. This was particularly acute from the end of the 1950s, when the work force was beginning to feel the effects of the dramatic drop in the birth-rate during the war, especially in countries such as the USSR, Poland and

Yugoslavia which had suffered drastic losses in population. This was doubtless a temporary phenomenon, but it was felt to be serious enough to warrant major shifts in educational strategy throughout most of the 1960s.

If less was made of these practical points than might be expected, the longer-term social problems received wider coverage. The fear was that the rush to full-time higher education would encourage the consolidation of a white-collar elite, remote in interest and experience from the mass of the working population. This is taken for granted in most Western countries, whether it be regarded as regrettable, inevitable or actually welcomed; but societies, at least theoretically based on principles of equality and the advancement of the working classes could hardly be expected to view it with equanimity. Nor did they. Krushchov's reactions have already been mentioned; and long after his departure from the scene, others (notably the Bulgarian Zhivkov) were making the same point. As is becoming clear since the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese have been exercised over the same problem, to the extent of being prepared to stop the entire system for a complete ideological overhaul, and to accept loss of academic efficiency as part of the price. None of the East European régimes (except possibly Albania) has been prepared to go to anything like these lengths, but at least they have recognised that more expansion brings social as well as economic problems.

The growth of demand has also accentuated problems of a more directly educational nature. The open admissions policy of the USSR was an early casualty, and in the other countries it was never established at all. Admission to higher education requires the school leaving certificate; but since there are many more with this than there are places, other devices are necessary. In most countries, ways are found to "take into account the social structure of the population", as the East German School Law puts it - that is, to admit a higher proportion of working-class and peasant-class entrants than strictly academic criteria would justify. On the whole, however, selection is based on what the East Germans call "the performance principle" - in effect, by competitive examination. The social criteria may moderate the effects of this, but do not change it fundamentally. In countries which do publish a breakdown of students by social origin (such as Poland), those of professional-class origins are represented out of all proportion to their numbers. There is a conflict of objectives here; from the point of view of the long-term social aims, weighting the entry to higher education in favour of people from disadvantaged backgrounds, those who have worked for a period in industry, those seconded from industry, and the like, makes a good deal of sense. From the point of view of efficiency in producing graduates with the necessary skills and expertise, it raises problems, at least in the

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short term, since these groups are more vulnerable to failure and drop-out than those admitted "in the performance principle" alone. Much of the vacillation over admission policy can be attributed to attempts to reconcile these objectives.

On a practical level, the increased demand for places has laid more strain on the selection techniques than they will bear. Concern over the failure rate has focused attention on the examinations themselves, and led to frequent calls for their improvement. But this is not the whole point. The most accurately devised examination techniques (always supposing agreement on what the tests are meant to be testing) have a margin of error, however small. When a high proportion of applicants can be accepted, and where some flexibility is possible at the border-line, this may not matter too much. But the smaller the proportion accepted, the greater is the discrimination required of the examination, and the greater the margin of error. This is a commonplace among those who make up even "objective" tests, though it is an unfamiliar idea to an astonishing number of examiners and academics. It is not a widely current idea in the Eastern European countries, hitherto spared much of this pressure because of continuous expansion. But as expansion slows down, the strain begins to tell on examinations not constructed to take it; paradoxically, the selection mechanism becomes less useful the more it is needed.

Finally, one must consider the possible effect of a growing number of disgruntled and frustrated young people. Many of them feel that their hopes have been raised only to be dashed again. It can be pointed out that their chances of advancement are greater than they would have been in the past, and that most of them have progressed further than would have been possible thirty years or so ago, when they could hardly have hoped to reach secondary, let alone higher education. But few people actually involved can take such a detached view. They want to get further, and find they cannot; that is the central feeling of grievance, and putting it into perspective (however just) does not help a great deal to alleviate it. It is not possible to quantify this unease, but there are many indications that it is widespread, such as the increase in alcoholism and "anti-social behaviour" amongst the young, or the impressive range of techniques, frequently denounced in the press, for manipulating the system. It is not a situation that any régime, let alone one which sets such great store by involving youth in the building of a country's future, can contemplate with equanimity.

III. STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS

Faced with continuous pressure on places, most of the East European countries have continued with expansion of the traditional structures, the academic upper secondary schools and the higher educational institutions. At the upper secondary level, as has already been observed, most of the countries have consistently shifted the emphasis from the purely academic type to those with a technical bias. This has not, however, been uniform, nor should it be seen as a rejection of academic education as such; it must be stressed that the development of the secondary technical schools was accompanied by "humanisation" of their curricula, with the injection of a considerable general educational element, not necessarily having anything to do with the vocational bias - mother tongue and literature, foreign languages, history, geography, social studies, mathematics, the pure sciences, physical education, and frequently art and music as well; if the spread is not as wide as in the academic secondary schools at least the equivalence of their leaving certificates is more than nominal. Indeed, in one sense it can be said that there has been a re-emphasis on general secondary education. In 1966, for example, the Soviet Minister of Education outlined the plan for "achieving universal secondary general education in the country" by 1971. (There has been the usual short-fall in the rural areas, but that is another matter.) Young people completing the eighth class at age 15, he said, "must study further", making it clear that the preferred route was through the upper classes of the general educational full-time system. Alternatively, they could go through the secondary technical schools (secondary specialised schools or tekhnikumy); or they could go to the trade schools (professional'no - tekhnicheskie uchilishcha, vocational-technical schools), but in this case were to take the full general secondary course on a part-time basis. In this event, it is not as easy as it might at first appear to distinguish between the compulsory and post-compulsory stages, traditional or not. In a sense, secondary schooling is being made compulsory for the entire course, to age 17, though one is obliged to take it in the ordinary school only until about 15; thereafter, there is some degree of choice between traditional full-time schooling and other structures.

The expansion of traditional modes of higher education has, as we have seen, been accompanied by attempts to adjust the class composition of the student body. This, however, has not been entirely satisfactory, as the groups thus favoured at the point of entry are liable to have difficulty with their course-work afterwards, and are more liable to fail or drop out. Egalitarian aims are hardly met by getting disadvantaged students into higher education if they cannot take full advantage of it once they are in. Accordingly, other devices have been sought to remedy this. The most favourable method is to provide special preparatory courses to enable students with less favourable backgrounds to catch up. Students from rural areas (where the problems of inadequate preparation can be particularly acute, especially in the USSR with its great difficulties of distance, communication, staffing and supply) stand in need of special help. In the Soviet Union, several universities and colleges were experimenting during the late 1960s with what was termed a "zero" year to bring rural students up to the standards of their urban compatriots before embarking on the course proper. At the beginning of the 1969/70 session, a decree of the Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers provided for an 8-to 10-month preparatory course in all higher institutions, with first-year level of grants for all full-time students and 15 days' extra paid leave for part-timers. Places were to be made available for ex-soldiers, workers, and collective and state farmers, but the main concern of these courses was to be the rural applicant. Many universities had established such facilities already, notably Tartu, Vilnius, Leningrad, Penza and Moscow; by October 1969 the Minister of Higher Education was reporting that about 200 institutions had "preparatory facilities" with over 20,000 students, and expected the figure to rise to 100,000 in the near future.

Neither the recognition of the problem, nor the suggested solutions, were new. The Hungarian press, for example, was complaining as far back as 1964 about the actual drop in the proportion of working-class students. Even in 1961, the Soviet Minister of Higher Education was stressing the need to prepare young workers "and especially the collective farm youth" by means of preparatory facilities. Attempts to implement these plans more fully are, however, much more recent. Generally, they have been the responsibility of the institutions themselves, but other bodies, such as the youth organisations, have been brought in as well. In Hungary, for instance, the KISZ (Communist Youth League) has been organising an "Aim for University Movement", in which university students coach working-class students in the secondary schools with an eye to higher studies. As for effectiveness, there has not really been enough time yet to be sure. Early reports have been moderately encouraging, but it will take a few more years yet to accumulate enough evidence to make a reasonable judgment.

Part-time study has been extensively used to take off some of the pressure on the higher institutions. Especially in the USSR, large numbers of students have been admitted to evening or correspondence courses, with (by law) periods of leave on full pay for study and consultations with the institutions. The reasons, of course, are partly economic - part-time instruction is cheaper to provide than full-time - but it can also be seen as a way of avoiding the diversion of too many from the labour force, and also of making entry easier for working-class students; obviously, those who stay in their jobs are the ones most likely to benefit. In East Germany, for example, nationally-owned enterprises are required to use the part-time system to "win working people for study...and to promote them during their course, and make enterprise facilities available for study." As far as one can judge, this system does benefit working-class (and, to a lesser extent, peasant) students. In countries where the available statistics give a social-class breakdown of student numbers (such as Poland), the number of working-class and peasant students, while disproportionately low in full-time courses, is disproportionately high in part-time courses. The breakdown into various categories of specialism, while not conclusive, points in the same direction - in most East European countries part-timers are more likely than full-timers to be taking vocationally-oriented courses, which reflects the general social pattern.

There is considerable variation in the extent to which part-time courses are used. In most East European countries the proportion fluctuates from about a quarter to over a third of the total student body. In the Soviet Union, however, it has been around that 50 per cent mark over decades. (Although this has at times been a matter of social policy, one reason for the higher proportion of part-time students, mostly on correspondence courses, in the USSR may be the geographical distances and population scatter with which the system has to cope). Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of entrants rose from 43.6 per cent to 53.6 per cent, then dropped again over the next decade. Once again, we see a conflict of objectives producing some vacillation in policy: part-time courses make it easier to meet some of the social requirements, but they are less efficient. They are, of course, longer - by one year in theory, more in practice. They also tend to attain lower standards, and their students are more liable to fall by the wayside. A number of area studies in the Soviet Union during the 1960s (particularly one in the Sverdlovsk higher institutions) showed clearly that part-time students were much more likely to fail or drop out than those in full-time study. There were many variations according to type of institution and course, but over a six-year period the average annual drop-out rate was 5.3 per cent. Those taking correspondence courses, however, were falling out at the rate of 12.7 per cent per year, while evening students were even more vulnerable (14.3 per cent). More generally, even when part-time students were in a clear majority throughout the USSR, they consistently produced a minority of the graduates.

Among the reasons offered for these relatively disappointing performances, it has been suggested that students embark too light-heartedly on these courses:

> The difficulties of combining study with work are well known. Not all the students who undertake to study without giving up their productive work clearly visualise the difficulties facing them.

The institutions themselves come in for a share of blame:

> It is well known that the workers in the system of part-time education are striving to bring it as close as possible to full-time education. It is undeniable that the full-time form has the greater achievements...but it must not be forgotten that the external and evening form...requires a different sort of organisation of the teaching process...[It] should be individualised as far as possible. The evening and external departments are trying in every way possible to copy the curricula and working programmes of the full-time departments. In our view, this is not correct.

There follow demands for more flexibility, experiment, "modernisation of the teaching process", improvement of methods, better use of audio-visual aids and more attention to the particular problems of part-time students and their working conditions.

But it is not just a matter of conditions of study. In response to the economic arguments (and the arguments of what might be termed the "pragmatists" among the decision-makers) it has been determined since the beginning of the present decade to trim the part-time programmes somewhat, to pay more attention to the different pedagogical problems raised, and to give greater heed to co-ordination between the courses and the students' work. The East German School Law had a good deal to say about the obligation of employing enterprises, while the 1969 Ministerial Decree made considerable provision for "further bringing of studies closer to practice". Similar enactments have been made in most East European countries; as a Soviet statement puts it:

> It is necessary to draw up a list of subjects in which specialists will receive training through the system of evening and correspondence instruction. With regard to enrolment...to study while continuing to work in production, it has been decided that persons who have been sent by enterprises...to receive instruction in specialisms corresponding to the nature of their work... will be given priority consideration.

Thus it is hoped to reduce conflict between the claims of work and study, thought to be responsible for many of the difficulties of the part-time student. This does not, of course, rule out study in some quite different field, but it does make it less likely. Part-time study is still available, then, as a means of relieving pressure on the higher educational system, but its streamlining in response to practical difficulties seems to be reducing its role. It is worth stressing, however, that it remains a major part of higher educational provision in all the Eastern European countries, and if the door is not as wide open as some of the more euphorious statements claim, it remains more open than would be the case in a system confined to the traditional channels.

Part-time study has been used at the upper secondary stage as well, though the extent of provision has tended to dwindle. Many countries, indeed, have at one time or another provided part-time courses for adults corresponding to every stage of the general school, but those at the lower stages have been essentially stop-gap measures to make available to adults opportunities they missed as children in less favourable times; as the extension of compulsory schooling has become more effective, however, the need for these has lessened. In Rumania, for instance, part-time primary classes had been wound up completely by 1956, though lower secondary courses continued to function, but on a diminishing scale. A similar pattern can be detected in other countries with much ground to make up, such as Poland, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Not surprisingly, the rate of decrease has been greatest at the lower levels; in Hungary, for example, numbers in upper secondary part-time schools were dropping by between 6 and 9 per cent a year by the mid-1960s, but at the basic school stage there was a drop of over 30 per cent between 1964 and 1965. There are considerable variations from country to country, and also fluctuations over time (temporary increases as hitherto unsuspected pockets of need have been discovered), but by and large the trend for part-time basic schools has been downwards, often dramatically.

At the upper secondary stage, however, this is by no means as clear. It is general practice to make available evening or correspondence courses, equivalent to both the Gymnasium/lycée type and the tekhnikum type. These too have been shrinking in number with the increase in opportunities for teenagers and the gradual (if uneven) dwindling of the backlog of adults who had missed those opportunities. There are indications, however, that part-time courses at this level will continue to have some role to play. In the first place, not every system has completely open entry to the Gymnasium or lycée, and as long as this is so (and for a long time afterwards), there will be a need for second-chance facilities. Secondly, in most systems it is possible to leave school altogether at the end of basic school, which carries the same implication. Third, in some countries, notably the USSR, geographical considerations are likely to require the need for schools for working and rural youth, as they are called there, for the foreseeable future. Finally, many countries may want to keep open the option of not making full-time upper secondary schooling a requirement, but using part-time courses to take pressure off the traditional schools (as in the higher educational system). The Soviet Union provided a good example of this in the mid-1960s, when there was a partial (and, as it turned out, temporary) retreat from the policy of full secondary education for all, probably in the light of manpower and economic factors. There was a reduction of one year in the secondary course, and a shift in emphasis from full-time to part-time study at this level (15-17); it was declared that this would be "the normal way for Soviet youth". It did not go as far as that, however, and in 1966 the policy of ten-year schooling for all was reintroduced. As has been already noted, however, this could be done in a variety of ways, and those preferring to go to a strictly vocational school were required to make up the general educational element through the part-time secondary system. Through various policy changes, therefore, a role for part-time secondary schools survives, so far at any rate. As for part-time technical or professional secondary courses, much the same arguments - and problems - apply to them as to the higher educational system.

Further proliferation of post-compulsory institutions has also been extensively used, partly at least with a view to keeping options open. Strictly speaking, these institutions by now look conventional enough as parts of the system, but their role has been shifted and varied. We have already seen the rise of the secondary technical schools to equivalent status with the Gymnasium or lycée schools; but they have tended to operate as post-secondary institutions as well. In the Soviet Union, for example, the "secondary specialised" schools give four-year courses to students leaving the eighth class at age 15; but they also provide two-year courses for those who have completed general secondary schooling. Unfortunately, official statistics do not show how many are taking the courses which way, but it is said that the proportion of post-secondary entrants is rising. This situation has parallels in most of the East European countries. In one of them, Rumania, their function has been stated to include absorbing secondary-school leavers who could not get into university. More recently, the Soviet vocational-technical schools, formerly operating solely at upper secondary level, have been made available as post-secondary institutions as well. In this, too, there are numerous Eastern European parallels. Indeed, reforms under discussion in Bulgaria envisage turning all institutions of vocational or professional training over to the post-secondary stage.

It may work the other way round, making general secondary education follow trade training. One of the earliest countries in this field was Czechoslovakia, which established the "workers' secondary school" (stredni skola pro pracujici) in 1959. This began with thirty classes in some of the major industrial plants, attended by students who had already taken their apprenticeship training (at a centre or school, of course, not just by serving one's time). The length of the course is three years, with possible shortening according to previous educational attainment; it leads to the matura, the Gymnasium leaving certificate, thus providing a further route to higher education. Study may be either full-time or part-time. Again, this pattern has become a common one throughout Eastern Europe, particularly in East Germany, Poland and Hungary. Although the Ministries of Education act as general overseers (laying down the content of curricula, for example) there is some variety in the way they are run. Some are organised by large industrial concerns for their own employees (though they usually admit students from nearby small plants as well); others are set up by the local authorities and draw their pupils from smaller industrial concerns, agricultural and other sources. It is largely a matter of local convenience. For successful students, there is no impediment to seeking admission to any kind of higher education, university or other; in practice, however, most of those who do seek to go further tend to some form of technical higher study.

Finally, there is an extremely varied range of other types of non-traditional provision - full-time and part-time, long-term or short, run by the education authorities or other bodies, accrediting or not, whose formal relationships with the school system vary from close integration to the most tenuous. There are the workers' faculties, peoples' universities, peoples' schools of art (or music, or languages), factory schools, parents' universities, improvement institutes, trade union and party schools and colleges, the youth organisations, and the various institutions which count among their functions "mass cultural work", such as the houses of culture, libraries, theatres, museums and art galleries, and the mass media. It would take a great deal of space to attempt even to catalogue the different types and their work. But for present purposes they can be classified according to their function (remembering that many of them are multi-purpose institutions) under three main heads: general culture, vocational, and those relevant to a particular role other than vocational; (those mainly designed for academic upgrading have already been dealt with).

First, then, there are courses intended primarily for personal cultural enrichment, leisure education, and the like; what we might call loosely the "adult education" system (though some countries, such as East Germany, do not use the term or any such distinct concept). All the East European countries have a great variety of such courses, though some, notably Poland and Hungary, are more responsive than others to the expressed interests of potential students. There are the cultural centres, from massive institutions like the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw to small "houses of culture" in the villages; there are the Peasant Academies, Youth Academies, Trade Unions and factory club houses, and the variously named Peoples' Universities, Free Universities and so forth. Some of them operate on a large scale, like the Jozsef Attila Free University in Budapest, which offers spare-time courses on every conceivable subject from electron physics and textile technology to logic, history of art or languages. (Sixteen languages are on offer, including Chinese, Hindi, Arabic and Turkish, and are studied by over 7,000 students). Whether on a large or small scale, institutions of this type do not generally give any formal qualifications. One cannot be too definite about this, however: it has been known for prospective employers or formal educational institutions to take such courses into account nevertheless, as has happened also in the West (in Denmark, for example, where courses taken in such determinedly non-accrediting institutions as the Folk High Schools have been known to acquire a similar unofficial currency). Further, some of the courses may be recognised as playing some part in the formal system, both at adult and compulsory school level. For example, the Czechoslovak Peoples' Schools of Art, Music and Languages are essentially institutions of the type described; but they are also used by the general schools who send for special tuition pupils showing outstanding talent in the appropriate field. (Not only is this a way of using facilities that are there already; the pupils stay in their ordinary school for everything else, and thus manage to have the particular attention they are felt to need without being cut off from their contemporaries by being sent to special schools. This is done in some countries, but in others is thought to have unfortunate social effects). Similarly, the centres of the youth organisations - Pioneer Palaces, Youth Houses, and the like - are concerned with leisure activities, political and social education, and hobby and interest circles. Some of these last, however, can be in effect voluntary spare-time classes, and are much used by abler (or more energetic) pupils, at compulsory and post-compulsory level, to add to their curriculum; in fact, if not in theory, they are extensions of the formal school. Once again, the line between traditional and non-traditional forms, as between formal and informal education, can be far from precise. Even institutions primarily intended for some other purpose, such as libraries, museums, art galleries, concert halls, theatres and parks, have their educational role as well, including single lectures and courses of varying length; these too may be used by the formal system, at any level, if it is thought appropriate.

Vocational courses, apart from those discussed already, can be concerned with initial training, retraining, or professional upgrading. There is an extensive network of factory schools supplying all those kinds of training, varying in length according to the degree of skill involved. In some ways, they are analogous to the trade or apprentice schools (with which they sometimes overlap), but are rather more flexible in their organisation. Most of these are conducted by large enterprises for their own workers, but there are also centres dealing with a number of factories if their size makes this desirable. (Many factory schools, to illustrate the demarcation problem again, offer some general courses. They may be open to the public. In Yugoslavia, this is in fact a legal requirement). Many professions operate a similar system. Teachers, for instance, have the "improvement institutes" (to use the Soviet term), linked with the higher educational system but not part of it. They organise short courses, weekend conferences, courses to help teachers come up to date on subject content and teaching methods, conferences to inform teachers about the implications of recent reforms (and, before the reforms are promulgated, discussions that can serve as a sounding-board for the authorities), and so forth. They also, however, provide courses leading to higher qualifications, recognised as such for promotion and salary purposes. Some countries, such as Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria, have a system of state "didactic degrees" after initial qualification. Teachers may work for these individually, through external courses put on by higher education institutions or teachers' unions, or in their own schools (a less formal equivalent of the factory school), but most of them work through the "improvement institutes" as the main focus for retraining and professional upgrading.

Finally, there are courses intended to equip people for a particular role, though not a vocational one. Many of the courses run by trade unions are of this type. Some of them (such as current affairs) come into the general cultural category, others are vocational in that they train full-time officials; but those in trade-union affairs, factory organisation, and the like, are neither; they are intended to help members carry out their union functions more effectively. The same applies to the Communist Party's own educational system, which operates extensively in most countries. Again, some of the courses must be reckoned vocational. In the Soviet Union, the Party Universities are clearly intended to train the professionals of the Party apparat. But most of the courses are not of this type; they are given in the politshkoly (political schools) to rank-and-file Party members, and deal with Marxist-Leninist theory, current affairs, economics, etc., so that they may be more effective members in, for example, explaining Party and government policies to their fellow-workers. Although "role-directed", they are not vocational; they would defeat their purpose if they were. Parents' Universities (or Parents' Academies, etc. - the names vary) are intended to convey educational information to parents, so that they may understand the work of the school better, and co-operate in it more effectively. These are particularly well-developed in the Soviet Union (where they have been functioning since the 1930s), Poland and East Germany. There are no formal entrance requirements, and courses are part-time and voluntary. They also operate advisory services. For the individuals enrolled, they have no link with the formal educational system at all in the sense of facilitating movement to other courses, but as a contribution to the working of the educational system as a whole they play an important part in securing parental participation in the education of their children. These courses, too, have their small-scale and less formalised counterparts at school level.

IV. COMMENT

Obviously, there are limits to which the experience of the Eastern European countries can be related to others. The overall control of a political party does not, generally, apply, and as a result, much of the machinery for control and co-ordination is absent. There are, however, some features that may be found to be of interest to societies with a quite different structure, but which nonetheless share some of the problems.

One of the most striking features is the sheer variety of provision, the great number of courses for all sorts of purposes, and their widespread availability. In Poland, it has been pointed out that, one way or another, one person in five is engaged in study, a figure that could be applied over most of the East European area. A great many of the courses are strictly utilitarian, while others have no clear connection with the mainstream of the system at all. Taking the broad view, however, it can be argued that such comprehensive coverage encourages and sustains the habit of study and its acceptance as a normal part of life, an encouraging thought to any who see education as something extending beyond the formal school system.

Not that there is any sign of a retreat from the formal system. Quite the contrary: "de-schooling" is no part of the educational scene in Eastern Europe. The non-traditional structures have at no point been set up to replace the formal system, but rather to supplement it. Although what emerges is not yet a coherent and integrated system of continuing education, there are an impressive number of links that make it possible for many who would be excluded early from the process, or forced into early choice, under a more traditional system, to keep their options open, to change direction, or to take advantage of a second chance. The advantages for individuals are obvious enough, but one might suggest a number of advantages to society as a whole. First, there is the vocational argument: there is not much point in putting the main effort into early training for a specific vocation when there is a good chance that the job may have been substantially modified, or cease to exist altogether, within perhaps a couple of decades. A system of this type makes retraining relatively straightforward. Secondly, the ability to postpone the differentiation of pupils, and to keep channels open, makes it more feasible than under a closed system to purvey a considerable element of common culture to the younger generation as a whole. (A great many educational problems exist, and are continually raked over by the press; but the "two cultures" split is not one of them). Thirdly, though this is not easy to demonstrate and requires further study, there is the possibility that a system of this kind, involving children and young people and adults in courses that frequently impinge and overlap, may do something to reduce the pressures that seem to be forcing the generations apart elsewhere. It is possible, of course, that the forces are too strong for education to be able to affect them much; all the same, it is a possibility worth considering. Finally - though again this is a big question with a great many variables - departing from the single-channel type of educational system may have contributed something towards equalisation of educational opportunity. One must not exaggerate this; there is ample evidence that inequality stems from causes other than education, and it is certainly not true that educational equality has been achieved in the Eastern European countries, despite the optimistic statements of some of their spokesmen. Other statements, and their own figures where they are available, show that there is still a long way to go. It is worth remembering, however, that they have also come a long way compared with the situation in operation before the post-war reforms; and the more open structure of the educational systems surely contributed to this.

Some further attention might be paid to the use of part-time programmes at the upper levels. Much has been made in this study of the very real difficulties and shortcomings, and the consequential partial retreat in the majority of the countries. While solving some problems, they have created others; they are certainly no panacea. Nevertheless, they have played a part in opening up the systems that repays examination, and when effectively used seems capable of bridging the gap between study and work in the world outside. The economic and manpower arguments, also, have their limitations. But these limitations do not nullify the force of the arguments, and may on that account be worth looking at by countries where similar considerations grow more pressing.

Even the failures can be instructive. Overall strategy, for instance, is often quite soundly planned, but all too rarely worked out adequately in terms of actual policy, let alone action. Some of the rather muddled interpretations of the polytechnical idea, for instance, did much to discredit it, first in the 1920s and again in the 1960s. Again, it seems easier to determine the structure and function of adult schools, less easy to work out programmes and train personnel that will take sufficient account of the fact that the students are adults. The achievements of adult schools are often marred by the use of materials and methods designed in the first place for school children. This frequent failure to think a policy through is not, of course, confined to the East; but it is worth noting that the existence of overall planning machinery does not by any means rule it out.

Similarly, there has been evidence of failure to follow through the implications of policy decisions. In fairness, one cannot foresee everything, but there are plenty of cases where the consequences of action could hardly have been unexpected. The policy of weighting the procedures for admission to higher education in favour of disadvantaged groups was a good example of this. Given the social philosophy behind it one can see the reason for the policy; but it ought to have been recognised that merely getting people into higher education was not enough if their disadvantage remained uncorrected. The symbol was confused with the reality. The use of remedial preparatory courses looks fairly promising, but it took some time to bring in, too late to avoid a degree of wastage and, possibly, over-reaction as a result.

It is clear, also, that even in socialist countries institutional change may not be accompanied by the changes in social attitudes necessary to make them effective. For all the opening up of the educational systems, there are plenty of people working in them as teachers and administrators - and students and parents too, for that matter - who sometimes act as though they were operating the old system. As a result, some changes have been diluted, others have not been implemented. This, again, is not a problem peculiar to the East, nor does any easy solution suggest itself. It is worth remembering, however, that conservatism in attitudes is liable to exist, and has to be taken account of. The danger in a centrally planned system, especially when the planning is done within a highly structured theoretical framework, is that things are assumed to have happened when in fact they have not; again, it is easy from the centre to confuse the decision with the act. It does not necessarily follow that these dangers are absolutely inherent; but they are there, and liable to persist unless more detailed planning, with adequate feedback, is undertaken.

Finally, it has appeared in several different ways that long-term and short-term policies may be in conflict. The interplay between these may not be easy to foresee, but it does appear that rigidity of planning can make the conflicts more difficult to resolve, and often results in some rather abrupt switches of direction that can cause confusion; this is a frequent matter for complaint in nearly all the Eastern European countries, but the phenomenon continues. It may be that most of these countries have difficulty in coming to terms with the idea of "built-in" flexibility; others may not find that such a problem.

In this study, a good deal of attention has been focused on negative aspects, on solutions to one problem that give rise to others, on failures of implementation. This is a necessary corrective to some of the exaggerated claims made for many aspects of the Eastern European educational systems, traditional and non-traditional alike. It may be that by claiming too much they invite some deflation, and that by expecting too much too soon they invite disappointment and perhaps over-reaction. It may be appropriate to end by suggesting that they have, nonetheless, achieved a great deal, and have done so partly as a result of aiming high. It would be going too far to claim that they have yet achieved the "educative society", but they have gone a fair distance towards it on their own terms. It would also be too much to claim, doubtless, that they can offer a complete model for anyone else; but they can give a good many pointers, worth looking at by any other society interested in attaining a similar objective.

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